

# The Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre

A STUDY OF ITS GREEK ORIGIN AND AN EDITION

OF THE TWO OLDEST LATIN RECENSIONS

BY

G.A.A. KORTEKAAS



## THE STORY OF APOLLONIUS, KING OF TYRE

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G.A.A. KORTEKAAS

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KING OF TYRE



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## FOREWORD

Almae matri Groninganae

The charming romance *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* has not failed to share in the general revival of interest in the ancient novel. Not only have six editions been published within a span of ten years (1978-88), but an unceasing stream of publications keeps the romance in the forefront of attention. However, the strange fact remains that neither the relation of the manuscripts (there are two principal Latin recensions, abbreviated here respectively as *RA* and *RB*), nor the origin of the story have been clarified: is there after all a Greek story behind its Latin form, or is it simply Latin, with perhaps some Greek roots?

In this state of affairs friends all over the world have suggested to me for many years to make a new edition beside that embodied in my thesis of 1984, with limited attention to the manuscripts, their vicissitudes and orthography, but with great emphasis upon the readability of the story, and most importantly, its Greek origin. In order to demonstrate this Greek origin a great deal of material, Latin as well as Greek, needs to be examined. It would have been the most elegant and no doubt also the most practical procedure to have published text and commentary simultaneously, perhaps in two volumes. Numerous considerations, some of them of a personal nature, have however caused me to decide to publish, for the time being, only the parallel texts of *RA* and *RB* in as readable a format as possible. The publication of the second volume, in which a line-by-line comparison of *RA* and *RB* will be presented, has been postponed to a later date. For the convenience of the reader the evidence which we deem most relevant is discussed in the Introduction with copious annotation. A separate index (G, see the Table of Contents) provides a guide by chapter to all passages cited in the Introduction.

I should like to dedicate this study, the fruit of many years of Apollonian study, to the University of Groningen: not only did Professor P.J. Enk initiate me for many years into this field of research, not only did I write my doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Professors R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma and L.J. Engels, but I have met there many people whose friendship has meant very much to my wife and myself. I also gratefully remember my collaboration with Prof. H. Hofmann, the initiator and stimulating force behind *The Groningen Colloquia*.

In preparing this book I have enjoyed the support of many friends and colleagues. In the first place I would like to thank Prof. R. Ziegler of Duisburg, Germany, for his readily given help, based on a profound



knowledge, on thorny numismatic questions concerning the so-called “Caracalla coin”. I would also like to express my thanks to the anonymous reader who at the request of the publisher read my text and made several suggestions of great value about the treatment of various topics, and who finally through his fiat made it possible for this book to be published by Messrs. Brill.

Some people, however, who from the very first have assisted me from day to day should be singled out for a special word of thanks. Mrs. Marij Becking, who typed the entire manuscript with all its corrections with unabating energy, Dr. A. Hilhorst for reading carefully the whole manuscript, suggesting me many emendations and sharper formulations, and Dr. G.H.V. Bunt, who, as always, has kindly monitored my English. And ‘last but not least’ I would like to express my gratitude to Professor W.J. Aerts, who in more ways than one has given shape to this edition, by valuable observations on points of detail, but above all by encouragement and advice.

This study would never have been completed without the very helpful assistance over many years from the Groningen University Library and the Buma Library at Leeuwarden. The assistance given me by the director of the Buma Library, Mr. L. de Vries, particularly on bibliographical matters, has been especially helpful to me.

For the outward appearance of this volume I am indebted to my next of kin: Sandro Kortekaas, who took care of the photographic material, and his partner Jan van Stralen, who undertook the often extremely complex work of type-setting. They, together with my wife, have given me marvellous support in the final stages of the preparation of this book.

Spring 2004

G. Kortekaas

## ABBREVIATIONS

### ABBREVIATIONS CONCERNING THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION<sup>1</sup>

<i>HA</i>	Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri
<i>HA(Gr)</i>	<i>HA</i> , in its probably original Greek form
<i>RA</i>	Recension <i>A</i>
<i>Rα</i>	group of manuscripts predominantly based on <i>RA</i>
<i>RB</i>	Recension <i>B</i>
<i>RT, RSt, RE, RBern, Rβ</i>	groups of manuscripts predominantly based on <i>RB</i>
<i>RT</i>	Tegernsee Recension
<i>RSt</i>	Stuttgart Recension
<i>RE</i>	Erfurt Recension
<i>RBern</i>	Bern Recension
<i>Rβ</i>	Recension mingling <i>RB</i> with recensions predominantly based on <i>RB</i>
<i>RC</i>	Recension <i>C</i> , manuscripts approximately equally based on and <i>RB</i>
<i>Hi</i>	<i>HA</i> , according to Klebs, in its original pagan Latin form from the 3rd century A.D.
<i>R</i>	according to Klebs the oldest stage of Christian adaptation
<i>R(Gr)</i>	<i>HA</i> , as an epitomized Greek, Christian text

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<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed account of the principal Recensions and their subdivision see the remarks preceding the Latin text.

ABBREVIATIONS OF JOURNALS, REFERENCE BOOKS,  
DICTIONARIES, ETC.

AA	Auctores Antiquissimi (in MGH)
AASS	Acta Sanctorum, <i>ed.</i> J. Bollandus, rev. J. Carmandet (Paris, 1863-1948)
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
AHMA	Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt
ALL	Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie
Bauer, <i>Wörterb.</i>	Bauer, W. <i>Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> , Berlin 1988 <sup>6</sup>
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
Blaise, <i>Dict.</i>	Blaise, A. <i>Dictionnaire Latin-français des auteurs chrétiens</i> , Strasbourg 1954
Blaise, <i>Manuel</i>	<i>Manuel du Latin chrétien</i> , Saze 1955
Blatt	Blatt, Fr. <i>Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos</i> , Gießen 1930
BphW	Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift
Cappelli	A. Cappelli, <i>Dizionario di Abbreviature latine ed italiane</i> , Milano 1961 <sup>6</sup>
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis (Turnhout, 1953-)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum series Latina (Turnhout, 1966-)
CFC	Cuadernos de Filología Clásica
CGL	Goetz, G. <i>Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum</i> , pars prior-pars posterior, Lipsiae 1899-1901
Clavis	Dekkers, E. – Gaar, Ae. <i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , Steenbrugis 1961 <sup>2</sup>
Concordance	<i>Novae Concordantiae Bibliorum sacrorum iuxta vulgatam versionem critice editam</i> , quas digessit B. Fischer, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1977
CPh	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
<i>ed.</i>	edidit
ed. m.	editio maior = Kortekaas (1984): see Editions p. xi
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
h.l.	ἄπαξ λεγόμενον ('not further registered in the lexicons')
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
ICAN	International Conference on the Ancient Novel
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies

JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
Lampe, <i>Lexicon</i>	Lampe, G.W.H. <i>A Greek Patristic Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1991 <sup>10</sup>
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library
Less.	Conca, F. – De Carli, E. – Zanetto, G., <i>Lessico dei Romanzieri Greci</i> , I-II, Cisalpino-Goliardica (s.a.)
LHS	Leumann, M. – Hofmann, J.B. – Szantyr, S. <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i> , München 1965
LSJ	Liddell, H. – Scott, R. – Stuart Jones, H., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1958 <sup>10</sup> (repr.)
LSJ (Suppl.)	Liddell, H.G. – Scott, R. <i>Greek-English Lexicon, Revised Supplement</i> , Oxford 1996
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
MDAI(A)	Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen, Athenische Abteilung
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Hanover, 1826-)
Mombr. I, II	Mombritius, B. <i>Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum</i> (2 vol.), Parisiis 1910
NF	Neue Folge
OLD	Glare, P.G.W. (ed.) <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford 1992 (repr.)
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina
PLM	Baehrens, E. <i>Poetae Latini Minores</i> , 5 vols., Leipzig 1879-1883
PSI	Papiri Società Italiana
PUF	Publications Universitaires de France
RhM	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
RPh	Revue de Philologie
SIFC	Studi italiani di filologia classica
s.l.	sine loco
S.S.	Sacrae Scripturae
ST	Studi e Testi
s.v.	sub voce
TAPhA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
ThLL	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae
t.t.	terminus technicus
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
U.P.	University Press
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

## EXPLANATION OF THE MANNER OF CITATION

As regards the use of these abbreviations, the following rules are observed in quoting the Latin text of the *HA*:

source references are given according to chapter, recension and line, e.g.:

8, RA 1 *praeparari*

In comparing the two principal versions:

in case of identical chapter and line and corresponding reading:

8, RA/RB 2 *classes navium*

in case of identical chapter and corresponding reading, but different lines:

8, RA 9/RB 17 *indignatus*

in case of identical chapter and line, but different readings:

8, RA 1 *praeparari* ~ RB *praeparare*

in case of identical chapter, but different lines and readings:

8, RA 6 *ipsa hora* ~ RB 14 *ibidem*.

When there is no corresponding reading:

in case of identical chapter and line:

8, RA 2 *his* ~ RB /

in case of identical chapter but different lines:

8, RA 14 *Et* ~ RB 21 /.

In the Prolegomena the different chapters of the argument proper are indicated by roman numerals followed by arabic numerals, e.g. VI.4.2.2 The coin of Caracalla.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY CONCERNING THE HA

*In his voluminibus auctorum nomina praetexui.  
Est enim benignum, ut arbitror, et plenum  
ingenui pudoris fateri, per quos profeceris.*  
Plin., *Nat. hist.*, *praef.* 21

As in some previous editions (ed. m., pp.xix-xxxi; Schmeling [1988]. pp. xxiv-xxxviii; Archibald [1991], pp.235-6), we preface to the discussion proper a list of editions, translations and commentaries, as well as articles which deal with the *HA*. This enables the reader to gain a quick overview of the current state of research. In accordance with customary practice, those authors whose emendations or suggestions have been recorded in the Latin text or in the apparatus criticus have been listed here with a date following the name. With a view to future studies on vernacular versions of the *HA* (a *desideratum*) we have also included publications in that field, without claiming to be exhaustive.

For general information about the Novel in Antiquity the reader is referred to the standard work of G. Schmeling, *The Novel in the Ancient World*, Brill 1996, Bibliography, pp.815-64.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. EDITIONS<sup>2</sup>

*Editio princeps* without specification of place (Utrecht?) or date (1474?)

Velserus, M. (Markward Welser), *Narratio eorum quae contigerunt Apollonio Tyrio. Ex membranis vetustis. Augustae Vindelicorum ad insigne pinus. Anno M.D.XCV* (Reissue: Chr.

Arnold, *Marci Velseri Opera Historica et Philologica*, Norimbergae 1682, pp.681-704)

Lapaume, A.J. *Erotica de Apollonio Tyrio Fabula* (in: G.A. Hirschig, *Erotici Scriptores*, Parisiis 1856, pp.599-628

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<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately this study (especially in the section dealing with the *HA*, pp.517-51) lacks any relevant and real discussion of a possible Greek background. It is only indirectly that the reader learns (through the Index, p.870, s.v. *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*) that three specialists give their opinion on and declare themselves in favour of a Greek original (E. Bowie, p.88; B. Kytzler, p.338; S. Stephens, p.662, cf. infra s.v. Zimmerman, M.~Panayotakis, St. The same must be said of the article, intended as a general overview, 'Apollonius of Tyre: Last of the Troublesome Latin Novels', ANRW, II vol. 34,4, W. de Gruyter, Berlin-New York (1998), pp.3270-91 (no word on p.3289 on the Pergamum riddle).

<sup>2</sup> For a critical evaluation of these editions, cf. ed. m., pp.134-40. As for Schmeling (1988), cf. infra Bibliography, 4., s.v. Kortekaas (1992).

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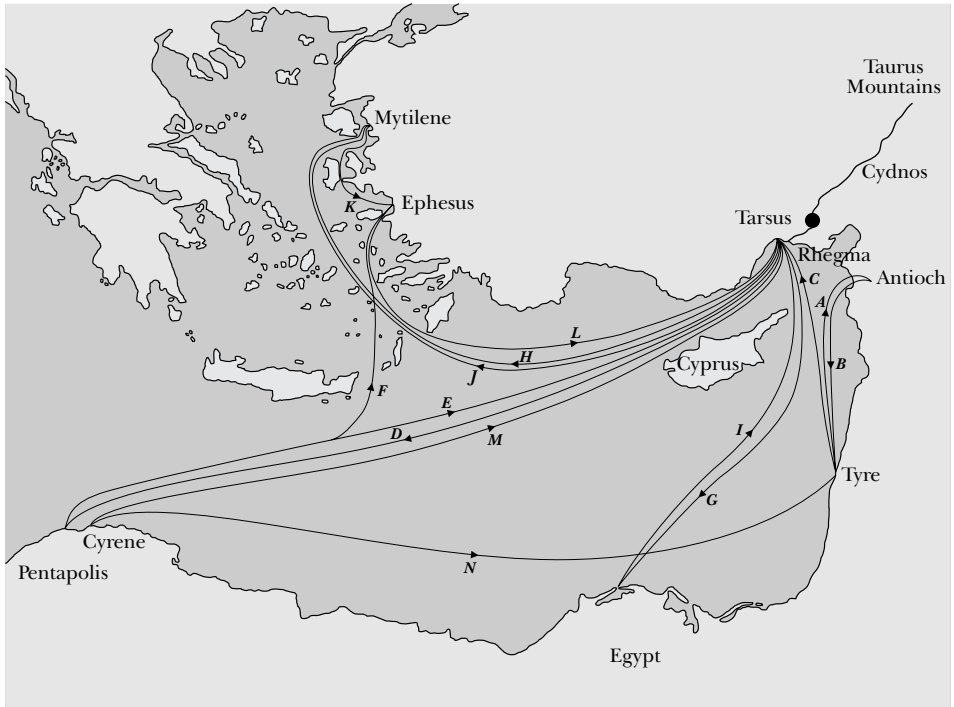
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PROLEGOMENA

HISTORIA APOLLONII REGIS TYRI



### THE TRAVELS OF APOLLONIUS AND HIS FAMILY

- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| A. Apollonius sails from Tyre to Antioch   | ch.4     |
| B. Apollonius returns to Tyre  | ch.5     |
| C. Apollonius sails to Tarsus  | ch.6.8   |
| D. Apollonius sails to Cyrene (where he is shipwrecked)  | ch.11    |
| E. Apollonius and his bride set sail for Antioch; she is believed to be dead and is thrown into the sea; he and his baby daughter arrive at Tarsus | ch.25.28 |
| F. His wife's coffin floats to Ephesus   | ch.26    |
| G. Apollonius sails from Tarsus to Egypt   | ch.28    |
| H. Tarsia is carried off by pirates from Tarsus to Mitylene  | ch.32    |
| I. Apollonius returns from Egypt to Tarsus   | ch.37    |
| J. Apollonius, intending to sail to Tyre, arrives at Mitylene  | ch.38-39 |
| K. Apollonius, Tarsia and Athenagoras sail from Mitylene to Ephesus  | ch.48    |
| L. Apollonius and his family sail from Ephesus to Tarsus, bypassing Antioch  | ch.50    |
| M. Apollonius and his family sail from Tarsus to Cyrene  | ch.51    |
| N. Apollonius and his family return to Tyre  | ch.51    |

Drawing with slight modifications (Jan van Stralen) from E. Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, Cambridge 1991

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

*As charming as the story is,  
so complex is the genesis of its text,  
so utterly diverse the opinions of the critics.*

With these words the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* (hereafter *HA*), the work of an unknown author, could perhaps be fittingly characterised.<sup>1</sup> The story owes its name to the novel's protagonist, Apollonius, King of Tyre. In a varied and adventurous succession of good and ill fortune we are told how the young Apollonius, having unsuccessfully sued for the daughter of King Antiochus, after a great deal of adversity marries an African princess, whose probable name, Archistratis, is scarcely mentioned;<sup>2</sup> how during a voyage this lady gives birth to a daughter, is thrown overboard in a box, apparently dead, is washed ashore in Ephesus, comes to life again and finally serves as a priestess in the temple of Diana; how father and daughter, who is meanwhile named Tharsia, lose sight of one another, and how, after many vicissitudes, the whole family, thanks to the help of the goddess Diana, is happily reunited. And how, as in a real fairy-tale, "they lived happily together for many years, to die in peace at a ripe old age".

### 1. THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

The Latin prose text, which lies at the root of the immense popularity of this novel in the Middle Ages, where it was rightly labelled as a favourite romance,<sup>3</sup> has come down to us in two textual variants, which are referred to as *Redactio*, or, more exactly, *Recensio*, called *R(ecensio)A* and *R(ecensio)B*. Both versions tell roughly the same thrilling story, but in details they show considerable differences: *RA* is the longer, more verbose, almost poetic version, *RB* the shorter, more logical and down to earth one. Probably they came into being soon after one another, during the late 5th (*RA*) and early 6th century (*RB*). So far scholars are more or less in agreement, although there is no unanimity on the order *RA-RB* and the date.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Metzler *Lexikon Antiker Autoren* (ed. O. Schütze), Stuttgart-Weimar, 1997, s.v. *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, pp.328-30. This short article by myself gives a brief synopsis in German of the *HA* and the problems surrounding it.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *infra* VII.2.2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. Peters, *Die Geschichte des Königs Apollonius von Tyrus, der Lieblingsroman des Mittelalters*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1904<sup>2</sup>.

Unfortunately we know nothing on its origin or earlier history: there is not even the tiniest scrap of papyrus or parchment which could give us a clue on the question of a Greek or Latin origin.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. THE CONTENTS OF *HA*, SEEN FROM *RA* AND *RB*

Although the Latin text is available in several editions, which are admittedly very different from each other, and although the text has been translated into nearly all European languages, so that it is easily accessible to interested readers, it may be useful to give a more extended sketch of the contents of a number of chapters, the more so since numerous points which will be dealt with in this context will also play their part in the further argument. The discussion of the contents will generally follow *RA*; the more important divergences in *RB* will be dealt with in parentheses. The differences between *RA* and *RB* which we discuss here as well as other salient points will of course need to be treated and elucidated in a commentary which we hope to publish at a later date.

**(ch. 1-3)** *HA* opens with a brutal rape scene in which King Antiochus, the ruler of Antioch, forces his beautiful but nameless daughter to commit incest. (In *RB* some kind of explanation is given by the addition *ex amissa coniuge*, that is, Antiochus' wife had died, which gave the king free play.) The old nurse sees, as *RA* says bluntly, *guttae sanguinis* 'drops of blood' on the floor (*RB* delicately replaces this by *certa* 'certain things') and attempts to calm the daughter and even to comply with the father's wishes. The king on his part attempts to deter any suitors by setting them a mysterious riddle: anyone who fails to solve it will face a certain death. The severed heads hang on the city gates.

**(ch. 4-7)** Nevertheless, after some time ('within a short time' *RB*) a rich and distinguished young man ('the most distinguished of his native country', as *RB* puts it), Apollonius of Tyre (his position remains unclear in

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<sup>4</sup> Recently attempts have been made to fit newly discovered novel fragments (PSI 151, P. Mil. Vogl. 260) into **HA(Gr)**, cf. R. Kussl, *Papyrusfragmente griechischer Romane, Ausgewählte Untersuchungen*, Tübingen 1991, pp.141-59. However, these attempts seem forced, as the two fragments differ too much from the original novel, in so far as we can form an idea of it (cf. VI). For the moment the scepticism of S.A. Stephens and J.J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels, The Fragments*, Princeton NJ, 1955, pp.391-9, seems preferable. See also A. Stramaglia, 'Prosimetria e 'romanzo perduto': PTurner 8 (con discussione e riedizione di PSI 151 [Pack<sup>2</sup> 2624] + PMilVogliano 260,' *ZPE* 92 (1992), pp.121-49, esp. pp.144-9. They all argue convincingly against such a relationship.

both *RA* and *RB*), arrives, who asks for Antiochus' daughter's hand in marriage: he is, he says, able to solve the riddle. Antiochus ("fearing that his crime will come to light", *RB*) gives him a month's time for consideration and dismisses him, but sends his steward as assassin after him. Apollonius (*tandem*, i.e. finally, *RA*) reaches his native Tyre unharmed (*innocens RA*; *RB* modifies this into *patria innocentis*, i.e. the home country of the innocent one). There he consults his books (in *RB* the scrolls are brought to him), among which the treatises of the *Chaldaei* (that is, the astrologers, a detail omitted in *RB*). Then Apollonius takes (without further motivation in *RA*: *atque ita*, 'in this situation'; in *RB ut homo locuplex* 'being a wealthy man') the strange decision to load his ships with corn and valuables and, as if attempting to flee, to weigh anchor in the dead of night "entrusting himself to the waves".<sup>5</sup> The next day the King's steward discovers Apollonius' escape and reports this to his master, who declares Apollonius an outlaw.

**(ch. 8-10)** The seas are searched without success (*RA* and *RB* show differences here). Meanwhile Apollonius arrives in the city of Tarsus (*RB*, in an ἔκφρασις (a digression) which strikes us as more or less Greek, elaborates on the reasons for this landing), where a fellow citizen by name of Hellenicus informs him that King Antiochus has set a price on his head (*RB* halves this reward). He declines any remuneration for this important information. When Apollonius hears from his guest-friend Stranguillio (perhaps from Greek Στραγγυλίων 'the Strangler', although the story as we have it contains nothing to explain this name) that there is a famine in Tarsus, in a princely gesture (Caracalla is known to have acted similarly)<sup>6</sup> he offers his corn, as he says "at the same price I paid for it in my native country, that is each bushel for eight bronze coins" (*aereus* in *RA*, instead of the Latin name of the coin, *as*; *RB* introduces a *palmaris emendatio*: *singulos modios aeris octo*, cf. app. font. to ch.10, *RB* 7). The citizens express their gratitude by erecting a statue (with Apollonius in a posture resembling that of Caracalla), a strange reaction since Apollonius is after all a fugitive: a statue erected in this phase of the story would merely have focussed attention on Apollonius (for a possible solution, see *infra* V.1.)

**(ch. 11-23)** After some time (again *RA* and *RB* differ greatly in wording) Apollonius travels to Cyrene compelled by fate (*premente fortuna* according to *RA*; *RB* omits this detail to substitute the general remark "because people assured him that the citizens there lived in greater wealth"); his

<sup>5</sup> A frequent motif in Greek culture (and certainly in the Greek novel) is for people to let themselves be carried along by the (wild) waves; cf. *Introd.* VIII.1.

<sup>6</sup> See *Introd.* VI.4.2.2 ('The coin of Caracalla').

goal is the so-called *Pentapolis* (five towns, with the homonymous city of *Apollonia*). However, in a storm at sea his ship perishes: the buffeting southern wind even tears the ship's tackle (which hides a direct translating error in both versions!)<sup>7</sup> Apollonius manages to clutch at a plank and is washed ashore in Cyrene as the sole survivor. A fisherman gives him food, even shares his humble cloak (in both versions *tribunarium*, a word which is unrecorded elsewhere in Latin and is directly connected with τριβωνάριον, cf. *infra*, IV.2) with him by tearing it into two equal parts as St. Martin once did, and finally advises him to try his luck in the city. In the *gymnasium* there he meets King Archistrates and his following; the king takes a liking to him and invites him to the royal table in the palace. There he meets the king's daughter, who welcomes those present (a somewhat strange happening, since both versions use the term *osculari* 'kiss'). Apollonius tells his sad story, the king's daughter attempts to cheer him up by playing the cither, but has no success. Finally Apollonius turns out to be a perfect cither player. He even wears the appropriate dress (the Latin *status* recalls the Late Greek word σχῆμα, which means 'attitude', but also 'dress'). The inevitable happens: like Dido, the African princess falls in love and even falls ill from love-sickness (in *multa infirmitate* as *RA* puts it; *RB* adopts another interpretation and writes *simulata mente* 'in a feigned illness', but uses a phrase which looks very similar in writing!). Of course the physicians can find no cause for the illness. It is only when other suitors appear on the scene that the king and Apollonius notice how much the princess is in earnest. Their marriage is soon arranged and is celebrated with due pomp and ceremony (in *RB* Apollonius is even paid the dowry, the "*dos*").

**(ch. 24-27)** After some time a ship from Tyre brings the message that the wicked King Antiochus, just as he was sleeping with his own daughter, has been struck by God's thunderbolt (so *RA*; *RB* "by lightning"), and without any further motivation he is told that the throne is now vacant for him. On their way to Antioch they are overtaken by a storm, which causes the premature birth of Apollonius' daughter. Apollonius' wife herself appears to be dead (apparent death is a frequent motif in the Greek novel). The sailors are afraid that a dead body on board may arouse the wrath of the elements and compel Apollonius to throw the body overboard (both *RA* and *RB* omit to mention the accompanying letter which will turn out to be essential subsequently in ch.26). Meanwhile Apollonius continues his voyage with the new-born baby and her nurse Lycoris. Three days later the coffin with the body is washed ashore on the beach of Ephesus, where a

<sup>7</sup> See *infra* IV.1.

physician (*RB* names him Chaeremon) finds her. Out of curiosity he opens the coffin and reads the accompanying letter; when, however, he wants to perform the last rites for the woman, a shrewd pupil (a *puer senex*) discovers faint signs of life. By rubbing her with ointment the physician is able to make the coagulated blood flow again and to revive her (the details of this manoeuvre are very different in *RA* and *RB*). The physician adopts Archistratis as his own daughter and at her own request lodges her with the priestesses of Diana, as she wishes to spend the rest of her life in chastity.

(**ch. 28**) Meanwhile Apollonius has landed in Tarsus and leaves his daughter and her nurse in the care of his guest-friend Stranguillio and his wife Dionysias. They are to raise Apollonius' daughter under the name of Tharsia together with their own daughter *Philomusia* (according *RA*: *RB* calls her *Philotimias*, 'Miss Dignity'). He himself swears a sacred oath to let his beard, hair and nails grow until Tharsia shall have reached nubile age (for girls in Antiquity 14 years) and departs for Egypt, the country of astrology. Apollonius' actions, his journey to and sojourn in Egypt for such a long period (neither *RA* nor *RB* give details on these fourteen years and are silent on any further motivation) fit strikingly a so-called *κάτοχος*, one possessed by a deity who by voluntary penance, self-neglect and celibacy attempts to escape his *fatum*.<sup>8</sup>

(**ch. 29-32**) When Tharsia has at last reached nubile age, the situation rapidly comes to a head. Shortly before her death the *nutrix* 'nurse' informs her as to who her real parents are and gives her the good advice in any difficulty to turn to the statue that the citizens once erected for her father (this motif does not play any part in the further story as preserved in *RA* and *RB*). Tharsia is threatened by an attempt on her life by her wicked foster-mother, who is later able to involve her husband in the plot as well (so *RA*; *RB* does not mention this). Seduced by Tharsia's wealth, and because her own daughter fails to impress the citizens, she manages to persuade her slave Theophilus to kill Tharsia. But in carrying out this order Theophilus wavers and allows Tharsia a final prayer. At that moment pirates appear, who kidnap Tharsia. Theophilus returns home and pretends to have killed Tharsia, but does not get the manumission promised him. Stranguillio, who is ignorant of the attempted murder, prays to God, using a wording which we also find elsewhere, to investigate and avenge (*RA*: *requiras et vindices*;<sup>9</sup> *RB* is silent on this matter) the

<sup>8</sup> Cf. G. Kortekaas, 'The Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri and Ancient Astrology. A possible link between Apollonius and *κάτοχή*', *ZPE* 85 (1991), pp.71-85.

<sup>9</sup> For a more extended discussion of this important detail, see Introd. VI.1, Contents.



murder of Tharsia. Dionysias continues the game on her own, assembles the citizens and informs them on Tharsia's sudden death. The next day they set up a cenotaph (i.e. an empty grave; according to *RB*, not far from the grave of the *nutrix*).

**(ch. 33-36)** Tharsia is transported by the pirates to Mytilene on the island of Lesbos, and in an amusing scene in which the brothel-keeper and the chief magistrate of the town, Athenagoras, try to outbid each other, is finally awarded to the brothel-keeper (who is also, to the amusement of the public, a eunuch, as *RB* tells us). With the help of Athenagoras, who had taken part in the bidding and now wants to be the first to go to Tharsia, Tharsia is able to preserve her chastity. An appeal to her sad fate (*fortunae casus* in *RA*, modified by *RB* to the more general *temporum vices* 'vicissitudes of the moment') is extremely effective. When the brothel's servant also yields to Tharsia's arguments, she herself proposes a way out: through her declamatory art she will be able to earn enough money for her owner. In *RB* this brief scene features three names which sound very Greek: Ninos, the Assyrian king, who was known as a prototype of lust, lends his name to the brothel-keeper; Amiantus, the name of the brothel servant, means 'untainted', and is used here κατ' ἀντίφρασιν; Briseida, or Briseis, here the "prima donna" in the *lupanar* (the brothel), was the mistress of Achilles.<sup>10</sup>

**(ch. 37-38)** Meanwhile Apollonius returns from Egypt, with a long beard and long hair. In order to speak he needs to push his beard away from his mouth. Dionysias, in agreement with her husband, returns all of Tharsia's possessions to him, with the sad remark: "If the constellation of the stars (*genesis*, in *RA* only) had permitted us, we would have returned Tharsia herself along with her possessions". (*RB* lacks an apology of this kind.) After a short visit to the grave and not believing Tharsia to be dead Apollonius withdraws to the hold of his ship (*RA* here uses the Greek sounding *subsannium*, cf. Gr. τὸ σανίδωμα, which *RB* replaces by the classical *sentina*), intending to return to Tyre.

**(ch. 39-45)** An extremely heavy storm (which *RA/RB* dismiss in one line) forces Apollonius in the opposite direction, via Miletus and Ephesus to Lesbos, where he arrives in Mytilene exactly at the time the Neptune festivals are celebrated there. The sailors are given ten gold coins (*aurei*), but Apollonius stays on board. By chance Athenagoras passes by to view the ships decorated for the festival. In vain he attempts to persuade

<sup>10</sup> For a further discussion of *RB*'s sources for these data, see Introd. VII.2.2.

Apollonius to appear on deck. Then he suddenly hits on the idea of sending for Tharsia. She sings a song in rhythmic hexameters (with a reminiscence of a famous hymn by Ambrose) revealing some of her vicissitudes, but Apollonius dismisses her. He is also able to solve ten riddles by a Symphosius (in *RB* there are only seven, adapted to the situation), without further success. On the contrary, when Tharsia attempts to pull Apollonius up by his mourning dress, he gives his daughter such a vicious kick “that the blood gushed from her nose” (so *RA*; *RB* tones this down to “blood from her knee”). Then Tharsia is overcome by grief and bursts out sobbing. Now at last Apollonius realises what the situation is, and almost in the terms of an Old Testament recognition scene, he reveals himself as her father (in *RB* this scene, ch.45, is worked out into minute detail). When Athenagoras expresses the wish to marry Tharsia, Apollonius is only too happy to consent (obviously now freed from the incest *fatum*).

**(ch. 46-47)** Apollonius’ anger threatens to be directed at the whole town of Mytilene (the reasons for this attitude remain unexplained). Athenagoras takes action: the procurer is taken by his earlobe (*RA* only: *ab auriculis*) and dragged to the *forum* to die at the stake. Apollonius and his daughter are rehabilitated. The other girls in the brothel are set free and are given the wages due to them. The town is also given money for the refurbishment of the city walls. For Apollonius and his daughter a monument is erected and the wedding of Tharsia and Athenagoras takes place with great festivity.

**(ch. 48-49)** Together Apollonius, Tharsia and Athenagoras set out on their journey home. Scarcely have they reached the open sea when in a dream an angel (*RA*: *angelico habitu* ‘in angelic dress’; *RB* has the theologically more correct *angelico vultu*; elsewhere in the same chapter we are told that it was Diana herself, which agrees better with parallel passages in the Greek novel) orders Apollonius to set course for Ephesus, present his daughter to Diana there, and then to undertake a punitive expedition against Tarsus. When Apollonius enters the temple, his wife, whom he had thought to be dead, but who is now chief priestess of Diana, comes into the building. She overhears his account of his sad lot, but also his gratitude for the at least partial reunion of father and daughter. Archistratis makes herself known. Eventually the whole family is reunited.

**(ch. 50-51)** A last voyage takes the reunited family via Antioch, where Athenagoras becomes king in place of Apollonius, and Tarsus, where the wicked foster-parents, after an amusing mock trial, are stoned to death

(a punishment for traitors) and where Theophilus is at last given his freedom, to Cyrene. The old king Archistrates shares their bliss for a full year. The fisherman and Hellenicus (although the latter really belongs in Tarsus)<sup>11</sup>, are also rewarded and are given the title of *comes*. Finally the succession must be settled: Apollonius and Archistratis are by now middle-aged, but yet they have a son, whom Apollonius appoints king to succeed his grandfather Archistrates, after he had first ruled Cyrene jointly with his wife. Then they die “at the age of seventy-four in peace and in a good old age” as had once been promised to Abraham (*cf.* Vulgate, *Gen.* 15,15). This at least is the ending in *RA*; *RB* contains a guarantee, the so-called σφραγίς, as we find elsewhere in the Greek novel, for instance at *Xen. Eph.* 5,15,2: Apollonius writes down the story of his life, and he does so in two copies. He donates one copy to the temple of Diana, as shipwrecked men are said to do elsewhere; the other copy is given a place of honour in his library. Both motifs, that of a dual copy and that of the private library, are found elsewhere in the Greek novel. There is, therefore, every appearance that *RB*, unlike *RA*, retains here an authentic element; the more so, since elsewhere in the *HA RB* exerts himself to eliminate even minute traces of a heathen belief, *cf. infra*, III.3, VIII.2.2.3.

This exposition was long, but by no means pointless. Not only does it underline the main points of my argument, but it refines them considerably.

### 3. PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS

- *RA* and *RB* turn out to offer the same story, in outline at least, with little or no motivation: we remain in the dark especially as to the position of Apollonius vis-à-vis Antiochus (ch. 1-5), his claim to the throne (ch. 24, 51), and the role of *fatum* and astrology. Neither recension gives a motivation for Apollonius’ decision to travel to Tarsus (ch. 6) or to Egypt (ch. 28). Both contain the same slipshod lapses (ch. 24, no mention of accompanying letter; ch.29, no development of the motif of recourse to the statue; ch.51, faulty coupling of Hellenicus and the fisherman).
- Yet *RA* is more detailed and more reliable than *RB*. For instance, ch. 32, where Stranguillio is implicated in the plot to murder Tharsia, is completely absent in *RB*, as is the antique prayer for avengement, *requiras et vindices*. If any motivation is given, *e.g.* 6, *RA* 17 *Atque ita* ‘in this situation’ (i.e., driven by an adverse constellation), *RB* alters it: *RB* 18 *ut homo locuplex* ‘being a wealthy man’.

<sup>11</sup> See for this blunder, *Introd.* V.1.

- On the other hand, *RB* must be viewed as a continuous attempt at improvement. Not only does he improve the Latinity, he also introduces changes for the sake of propriety, especially in the case of *deminutiva* and of more or less vulgar words.

*RB*'s additions are mostly commonplace (1, *RB* 2 *ex amissa coniuge*; 4, *RB* 1 *interposito brevi temporis spatio* 'after a lapse of a short time'). Yet *RB*'s additions also contain a completely different aspect: names that he supplies appear to be of Greek origin (ch. 25, Chaeremon; ch.33 Ninus, Amiantus, Briseis). A digression (ch. 8) contains several Graecisms within a few lines.

It is clear that these provisional findings, although each needing further comment, give another turn to our investigations: could there be a Greek original behind the Latin story? This question will occupy us in the remainder of our argument.

Yet we cannot pass on to this discussion without further ado. Although the detailed synopsis shows clearly that the origin of the story must be sought elsewhere, on the other hand it is evident that even in the Latin form that we possess, despite its many faults of no or only the most summary motivation, we are presented with a narrative that contains all the ingredients that make it a popular story and has done so for many centuries. This much has to be conceded to the protagonists<sup>12</sup> of a Latin original in this form. Shakespeare rightly says in his *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (act I, sc. 1, 5-8):

It hath been sung at festivals,  
On ember-eves and holy-ales,  
And lords and ladies in their lives  
Have read it for restoratives.

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<sup>12</sup> One quotation from the camp of adherents of a Latin original: K. Kerényi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur*, Darmstadt 1973<sup>3</sup>, p.238: "Dabei haben wir festzustellen, daß die innere Form in der Historia Apollonii – die plasmatische Behandlung des Stoffes – in sich vollkommen war, denn noch heute ist sie lückenlos."

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## CHAPTER ONE

### STEMMATA FOR *HA(LAT)* AND *HA(GR)*

The stemmata reproduced below give a schematic representation of the two theories, viz. that of a Latin original versus that of a Greek one.<sup>13</sup> The former goes back to the work by Elimar Klebs, *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung über ihre lateinische Urform und ihre späteren Bearbeitungen*, Berlin 1899.<sup>14</sup> This book deserves to be cited here with its title and subtitle, since from the very outset, even from the title, there emerges a clear standpoint: Latin is the original form, the Latin codices have become badly interpolated in the course of time. Even Apollonius' status on the Latin side as king of Tyre is said to be due to interpolation. Hence the title *Apollonius aus Tyrus*, not *Apollonius, rex Tyri*.<sup>15</sup>

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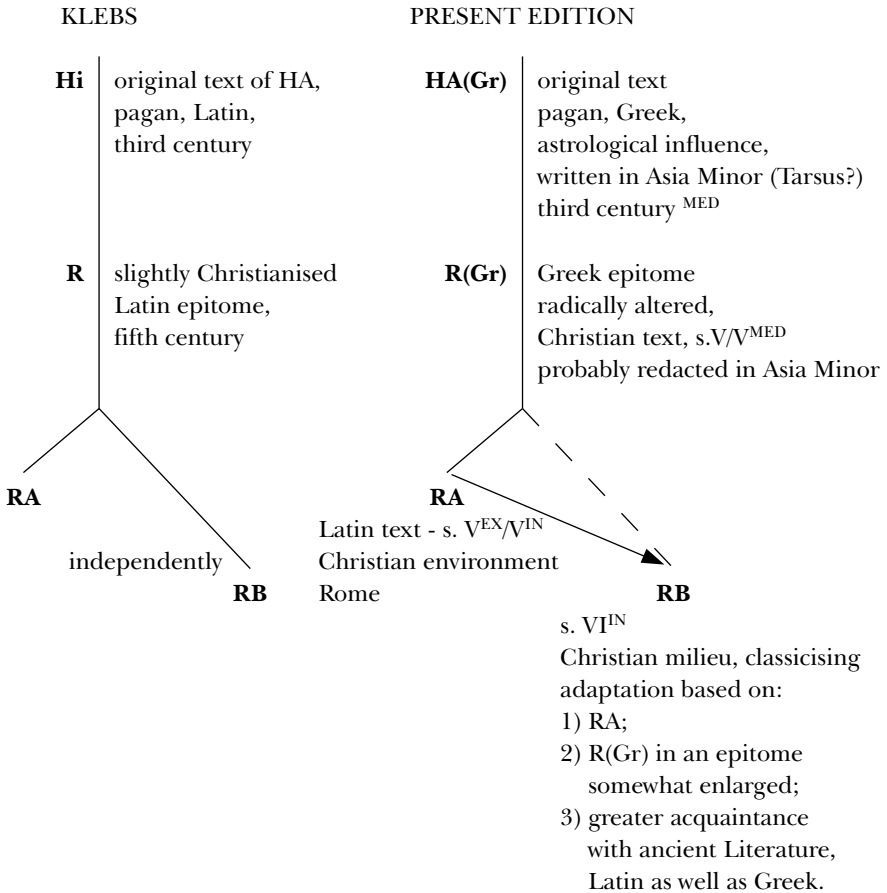
<sup>13</sup> For various reasons it is impossible to give anything even remotely resembling a complete list of proponents of a Greek original of the *HA*. In the first place this would involve recapitulating the history of the oldest prints (Welser, Lapaume, Riese) to the earliest scholarly studies of the *HA* (E. Rohde, W. Schmid, P.J. Enk, K. Svoboda, I. Lana), all of which argued in favour of a Greek original (*cf.* ed. m., pp.97-115, esp. nn. 37, 38). Moreover, many students of the *HA* state a preference without any further motivation. Others do accept a Greek original (possibly longer) preceding an originally Latin narrative, but argue that such a Latin original depends on a Greek model or is a free adaptation of it. It seems to me that no useful purpose is served by a recapitulation of these often complex reconstructions.

<sup>14</sup> Positive judgments on Klebs' book are found *passim*, *cf.* Schmeling (1988), praef., p.VI,VII ('opus), quod monumentum aere perennius manet'; to quote only one recent critic: E. Wolff, *Histoire du roi Apollonius de Tyr*, Anatolia Editions 1996, Note 26: 'demeure fondamentale sur la question l'ouvrage de E. Klebs'. The present tendency is to assume a Greek original. Today there exists, however, no convincing overall argument one way or another, *cf.* N. Holzberg, *Der Antike Roman*, München-Zürich 1986, p.30: 'man konnte sich bis heute keineswegs darüber einigen, ob es zur Historia Apollonii eine griechische Vorlage gab oder nicht.' (The English version *The Ancient Novel. An Introduction*, London-New York 1995, pp.25-6, also leaves the question open.) Negative judgments on Klebs are rare. The most striking one is that by B. Lavignini, *Le origini del romanzo greco* (Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa 28, 1922, p.56, n.3): 'Il romanzo e la sua fortuna nel medioevo furono studiati nel libro, superficiale per quanto assai rinomato, di Elimar Klebs, *Die Erzählung*, etc.' This essay is included in H. Gärtner, *Beiträge zum griechischen Liebesroman*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, Olms 1984, pp.68-95 (the quotation on p.91, n.3).

<sup>15</sup> Whether in the original Greek Apollonius was also king of Tyre, or merely a wealthy and influential individual, is a problem of an entirely different order: in the Latin romance his kingship cannot be doubted. For the Greek tradition see the Introd. VI.1. Probably the Greek epitomiser was responsible for the term *Rex Tyriae* (i.q. *Tyri*) via βασιλεὺς Τύρου, *cf.* Introd. V.2.1.

Beside this *stemma* the reader will find the *stemma* which after many years of “Apollonian studies” has crystallised in my mind.<sup>16</sup>

### Stemmata



Klebs' thesis is:

- The two principal versions *R(edactio)A* and *R(edactio)B* are to be judged separately; each retains – sometimes in different places – the correct, original text;

<sup>16</sup> For this scheme compare Kortekaas, 'Enigmas in and around the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*,' *Mnemosyne* 51, fasc. 2, 1998, pp.176-91 (cited as Kortekaas, *Enigmas*); *id.*, 'Certa or Certaue' in: M. Zimmerman, S. Panayotakis, W. Keulen, *The Ancient Novel in Context*, ICAN III, Groningen 2000, pp.57-9.

- Both redactions go back, independently of each other, to a slightly christianised intermediate phase, called **R**;
- On the grounds of many factors, such as:  
 the typically Latin characteristic names of coins and their use (Klebs, pp.191-6);  
 the Latin formulation of the grave inscriptions (Klebs, pp.196-205);  
 the manners and customs, said to suggest Roman rather than Greek culture (Klebs, pp.205-27);  
 the language and style (Klebs, pp.228-80);  
 borrowings from Latin authors (Klebs, pp.280-93);  
 and finally the special position of the *HA* relative to Greek romance as a whole – in Klebs' time dated (much too late) in the fifth or sixth century – (Klebs, pp.294-322), he arrives at his final hypothesis, which posits **Hi**, an original pagan Latin text of the third century.

This argumentation has been accepted for more than a century, mostly without criticism. At present, however, some scholars only accept his views in so far that behind **Hi** they assume a Greek original either as a model or as the direct source. But this circuitous route to a Greek original is in our view unnecessary.

We do not intend to give a detailed refutation of Klebs' thesis here, since we are arguing a completely different view. We limit ourselves, therefore, to a few remarks.

It appears strange to posit as a basic thesis that *RA* and *RB* have separate origins and should be judged separately. On the contrary, even the minutest changes in *RB* vis-à-vis *RA* turn out to be based on almost the very letter-shapes in *RA*, e.g.:

9, RA 10	<i>duram</i> (famem) ~ RB 10 <i>diram</i>
18, RA 14	<i>in multa infirmitate</i> ~ RB 14 <i>simulata infirmitate</i>
20, RA 18	<i>pudorem</i> ~ RB 15 <i>ruborem</i> (Cic., Ambr.)
21, RA 14	<i>colore</i> (= Vulgate, <i>Esth.</i> 15,8) ~ RB 12 <i>rubore</i>
27, RA 6	<i>a perfrictione</i> ('through the extreme cold') ~ RB 5 <i>ad perfectionem</i> , cf. <i>infra</i> VII.2.2
33, RA 12	<i>plurium venditor sum</i> ~ RB 12 <i>plures venditurus sum</i>
33, RA 27	<i>patefit</i> ~ RB 25 <i>patebit</i>
34, RA 8	<i>obstipuit</i> ~ RB 8 <i>abstinuit</i>
36, RA 6	<i>excrebuit</i> ~ RB 9 <i>excrevit</i>
38, RA 18	<i>efflare</i> ( <i>spiritum</i> ) ~ RB 15 <i>effluere</i>
41, RA 9	<i>adeoque</i> ( <i>i.q.</i> <i>insuper</i> ) ~ RB 9 <i>Et deo iubente</i> (!)
43, RA 12	<i>mutatur aspectu</i> (sc. <i>speculum</i> ) ~ RB 11 <i>mentitur aspectu</i> .



Klebs also continually plays off *RA* against *RB*, naturally giving preference to the more precise and more classical formulation of *RB*. To give a single characteristic example from the beginning and the end of *HA*:

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| 2, RA 6-7    | <i>nutrix ut haec audivit atque vidisset, exhorruit atque ait</i><br>~ RB 6 <i>nutrix ait</i>              |
| 4, RA 3      | <i>ita eum salutavit</i> ~ RB 4 <i>ait</i>   |
| 48, RA 23-24 | <i>coepit in conspectu Dianae haec effari atque cum fletu magno dicere</i> ~ RB- 17 <i>coepit dicere</i> . |

Stereotyped formulas, although typical of the genre, are not found in *RB*:

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 23, RA 9  | <i>Quid multa?</i> ~ RB / (similarly 47, RA 17 ~ RB /) |
| 33, RA 15 | <i>Quid plura?</i> ~ RB / (similarly 35, RA 4 ~ RB /). |

Story elements present in *RA* only (above all the characteristic ch.32, where Stranguillio is involved in the plot) are dismissed as interpolations, like many shorter passages. Klebs evidently wants to represent the Latinity of *R* in as pure a light as possible, to arrive at an even purer Latin original *Hi*. The six factors he adduces in the course of his argument (names of coins, pp.191-6; grave inscriptions, pp.196-9; manners, pp.205-15; language and style [only some twenty words are accepted], pp.228-93; borrowings from Latin authors, pp.280-91; pagan and Christian elements, pp.187-91) are altogether insufficient to justify such a drastic conclusion: they could have been inserted at any time, and, as we shall see presently, this could easily have been done by any competent translator adapting his material to the Roman world, cf. II.3.2.

Of course we do not wish to deny that Klebs has done important work on *HA*, but his merits, in our view, do not lie in the field of the genesis of the text, but in tracing and classifying the various Latin manuscripts and vernacular adaptations.

With this final conclusion, we may safely rule out the opinion that *HA(Lat)* is to be regarded as a narrative of Latin origin. It really is much more probable that underneath the Latin form a Greek narrative lies hidden. Remarkably enough, the genesis of the text proposed by Klebs for his assumed Latin original is quite compatible with our hypothesis of a Greek origin.

## CHAPTER TWO

### *RA* AND *RB* AS INTEGRAL LATE LATIN TEXTS FROM A CHRISTIANISED MILIEU, PROBABLY TO BE LOCALISED IN ROME

As opposed to the opinion of Klebs, that **Hi** in the course of time has been overrun by Christianisms, we should like to demonstrate in this chapter that both *RA* and *RB* are to be considered as Late Latin texts straightforwardly stemming from a Christian environment. Naturally we do not intend to deny that in a limited number of places the text may have been interpolated (especially in the enigmas, ch.42-43), but broadly speaking in our view both texts are integral and only lightly interpolated. We therefore should like to subdivide this chapter under three headings:

- Late Latin elements
- Christian elements
- Consequences for the interpretation, the genesis of the text and its edition.

#### 1. LATE LATIN ELEMENTS

It may well have been a disaster for the *HA*, partly owing to the milieu of its probable origin, that its grammar, syntax and vocabulary were from the outset relatively pure from the point of view of classical Latinity. One of the earliest students of the *HA*, Ph. Thielmann, *Über Sprache und Kritik des lateinischen Apolloniusromanes*, Speier 1881, p.17, for instance, pointed out that the use of the *consecutio temporum* was mostly correct, cf. Ind. gramm., s.v. tempus. Nevertheless there are many Late Latin characteristics especially in *RA*.<sup>17</sup> We might point to the use of *unus* and *ille*, often as near-articles ('a' rather than 'one'; 'the' rather than 'that'):

12, *RA* 3                      *unius tabulae beneficio* ~ *RB* 2 *beneficio tabulae*

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<sup>17</sup> On the occurrence of *unus* as a near-article in *HA*, cf. ed. m., *Index verborum*, p.463 s.v.; on *ille*, cf. ed. m., n.562; further examples ed. m., p.64 on corrections introduced by *RB* in:

- the use of the indefinite pronoun (*ali)quis*
- the use of rather abundant phraseology: 5, *RA* 1 *sic ait ad eum* ~ *RB* 1 *ait*
- the use of auxiliary verbs: 32, *RA* 5 *fugit et coepit latere* ~ *RB* 4 *fugit*.

14, RA 3	<i>beneficio unius adolescentis, quem nescio</i> ~ RB 2 <i>beneficio nescio cuius adolescentis</i>
17, RA 20	<i>dari unam zetam</i> ('chamber': <i>diaetam</i> ) ~ RB 18 <i>adsignari zetam</i>
44, RA 16	<i>a servo uno infamiae</i> ~ RB 16 <i>a servo eius</i>
46, RA 8	<i>vindicet se de uno infamiae</i> ~ RB 8 <i>vindicet se de eo</i>
51, RA 8	<i>integro uno anno</i> ~ RB 7 <i>integro anno</i> .

The same can be observed as to the use of *ille*:

21, RA 2	<i>respiciens illos tres iuvenes</i> ~ RB 2 <i>respiciens tres iuvenes</i>
24, RA 9	<i>patriae illius principem</i> ~ RB 8 <i>patriae principem</i>
40, RA 25	<i>ad lenonem illum et dic ei</i> ~ RB 20 <i>ad Ninum lenonem et dic illi</i>
41, RA 22	<i>abscessit de illo loco</i> ~ RB 22 <i>abire cupiebat</i>
48, RA 9	<i>Ille vero iubet</i> ~ RB 6 <i>et iussit</i> .

As regards syntax we note the looser use of the participles in *RA*, especially as *nom. abs.*, which *RB* diligently eliminates (cf. Ind. gramm., s.v. *nominativus*):

14, RA 13	<i>Et ingressus Apollonius triclinium ait ad eum</i> (sc. Apollonium) <i>rex</i> ~ RB 11 <i>ingressus Apollonius triclinium ... discubuit</i>
31, RA 2	<i>videntes omnes cives speciem Tharsiae ornatam, omnibus civibus ... miraculum apparebat</i> ~ RB 2-3 <i>Videntes Tharsiae speciem et ornamentum cives ... dicebant</i>
40, RA 27	<i>Veniens ... Tharsia ad navem, videns eam</i> (sc. Tharsiam) <i>Athenagoras</i> ~ RB 23 <i>veniente Tharsia dixit Athenagoras</i> .

The chief late Latin element is the common vocabulary of *RA* and *RB*, words which as semantic/lexical neologisms are usually not recorded in classically oriented dictionaries such as OLD, whose authors set their limit in the 2nd century A.D. Since this is an important piece of evidence for the dating of *RA/RB* as well as for their integrity, we feel justified in presenting a somewhat circumstantial selection from the material, without further evidence:<sup>18</sup>

14, RA 12/RB 10	<i>abiectus</i> (= <i>vilis</i> )
41, RA 33/RB 32	<i>absolvere</i> (= <i>solvere</i> )
7, RA/RB 1	<i>alius</i> (= <i>alter</i> )

<sup>18</sup> For a fuller list see ed. m., pp.451-63.

14, RA 10/RB 8	<i>acquiescere</i> (= oboedire)
43, RA 23.27/ RB 16.19	<i>comitari</i> ( <i>pass.</i> )
8, RA 26/RB 30	<i>comparare</i> ('buy')
14, RA 12/RB 10	<i>confundor</i> (= pudet me)
13, RA 20/RB 16	<i>constanter</i> (= audacter)
24, RA 21/RB 17	<i>disponere</i> (= statuere)
40, RA 18/RB 14	<i>fatigari</i> (= vexari)
25, RA 30	<i>funus</i> (= corpus mortui)
2, RA 12/RB 10	<i>gentes</i> (= homines)
14, RA 16/RB 12	<i>gustatio</i> (= <i>cl.</i> promulsis)
14, RA 12/RB 10	<i>habitus</i> (= vestis)
17, RA 16/RB 14	<i>hospitalia</i> (= taberna)
1, RA/RB 11	<i>induere coniugem</i>
1, RA/RB 7	<i>iniquus</i> (= malus)
(= ch.41,48)	
42, RA 32/RB 24	<i>innocens</i> (= illaesus)
27, RA 22/RB 20	<i>inviolabiliter</i> postcl.
25, RA 26/RB 19	<i>loculus</i> (= sarcophagus)
(= ch.26,44,48)	
43, RA 26/RB 18	<i>mansio</i> (= positio)
51, RA 9/RB 8	<i>medietas</i> (= dimidium)
14, RA 18/RB 14	<i>ministeria</i> (= vasa)
36, RA/RB 2	<i>modulanter</i> (Riese [1893], <i>Index</i> , s.v.: h.l.)
40, RA 11/RB 8	<i>navicula</i> (= navis)
35, RA 23/RB 18	<i>nimis</i> (= valde)
30, RA/RB 7	<i>nisi</i> (= quam)
34, RA 16/RB 17	<i>novitia</i> (= nova meretrix)
37, RA 16/RB 18	<i>nuntium</i> ( <i>neutr.</i> )
33, RB 25	<i>patere</i> (said of <i>meretrices</i> )
23, RA 2/RB 1	<i>potestas urbis</i> ( <i>ital.</i> podestà)
33, RA 13/RB 11	<i>prior</i> (= primus)
(= ch.34)	
43, RA/RB 7	<i>-que</i> abundanter positum
33, RA 15/RB 14	<i>salutatorium</i> postcl.
1, RA 16	<i>scelestis</i> (= scelestus)
10, RA 16/RB 14	<i>scribere</i> (= inscribere)
31, RA 17/RB 12	<i>sin alias</i> (first recorded in <i>Reg. Benedicti</i> )
49, RA 7	<i>sonat</i> ~ RB 9 <i>sonuit</i> (especially in Greg. Tur.)
41, RA 38/RB 36	<i>spatium tribuere</i>
7, RA 15/RB 14	<i>vires regni</i> 'finances'.
(= ch.18,41)	

Late Latin constructions are also extremely numerous, *e.g.*:

47, RA 1	<i>alloqui + dat.</i>
38, RA 2/RB 1 (= ch.40)	<i>credere, quia</i>
40, RA 8/RB 7	<i>discere, quod</i>
27, RA 12/RB 10	<i>fallere + dat.</i>
41, RA 36/RB 34	<i>licet + ind.</i>
48, RA 29/RB 23	<i>machinari + inf.</i>
38, RA 14/RB 12	<i>maledicere + acc., cf. infra sub b.</i>
18, RA/RB 2	<i>memor + acc.</i>
12, RA 12/RB 16	<i>misereri + dat.</i>
33, RA 23/RB 21	<i>nescire, quia</i>
35, RA 23/RB 19	<i>nescire, si</i>
6, RA/RB 3	<i>scire, quia</i>
32, RA 13/RB 12	<i>scire, quod</i>
7, RA 7/RB 8 (= ch.24)	<i>si valeas</i>
40, RA 16/RB 13	<i>sperare, quia</i>
39, RA 6/RB 8	<i>sufficere, quod</i>
4, RA 15/RB 17	<i>vesci + acc.</i>

## 2. CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS

Christian elements are also present in *RA/RB* in large numbers. Of the words and expressions which are rarely found in pagan authors (who are themselves declining in number) we note:<sup>19</sup>

8, RA 24/RB 29	<i>absit, ut</i>
35, RA/RB 2	<i>adiurare</i>
23, RA 16/RB 8	<i>dilectio</i>
40, RA/RB 1	<i>ait intra se</i>
38, RA 14/RB 12	<i>maledicere + acc.</i>
41, RA 24/RB 23	<i>miserecordiam facere</i>
51, RA 18/RB 14	<i>paronymphus</i>
46, RA/RB 7	<i>salvare.</i>

Here, however, *RB* prunes with special diligence, in his efforts to conform to classical usage,<sup>20</sup> *e.g.*:

25, RA 16	<i>amarissime flere: RB /</i>
50, RA 27	<i>bestiae terrae: RB /</i>

<sup>19</sup> For a fuller list with nearer information see ed. m., pp.102-3.

<sup>20</sup> For a fuller list and for frequencies, see ed. m., pp.104-5.

48, RA 17	<i>in conspectu</i> (= coram): RB /
51, RA 9	<i>dimittere</i> : RB 8 <i>relinquere</i>
1, RA 3	<i>exerrare</i> : RB 3 <i>errare</i>
40, RA 32	<i>pietas</i> (= opus misericordiae): RB 26 <i>pars pietatis</i>
51, RA 11	<i>in illo tempore</i> : RB /
12, RA 24	<i>tribulatio paupertatis</i> (cf. app. font.): RB 26 <i>paupertas tribunarii</i>
50, RA 28	<i>volucres caeli</i> : RB /
37, RA 14	<i>ut quid</i> : RB 16 <i>quid</i> .

The number of common biblical allusions is considerable.<sup>21</sup> It is important to note that both recensions use the Vulgate (not the *Vetus Latina*), and that their quotations are fully integrated into the context:

21, RA 14	Esther 15,8
41, RA 38/RB 36	Iudic. 16,16
12, RA 22/RB 24	Tobias 5,25
37, RA 4-5/RB 4	Tobias 11,6
46, RA 1-2/RB 2	Act. Apost. 21,30.

The *HA* even uses words only known from hagiographical source:

34, RB 3	<i>ex demonstrato</i> , cf. Blaise, <i>Dict. s.v. demonstratum</i> : <i>Pass. Thecl.</i> 19 (ed. Gebhardt, Leipzig 1902, p.49,18) <i>secundum demonstratum</i> (see ThLL VI 509,26).
38, RA 17	<i>subsannium</i> ("the hold") (= 39, RA 25/RB 24, cf. Ind. verb.), cf. <i>Pass. Felicis</i> , Papae Romae 268-274, (ed. H. Delehay, <i>AB</i> 39 [1921], [pp.241-74], quotation p.257 [versio N]): <i>fuit in subsannio navis ... iacens sub pedibus equorum</i> , cf. ed. m., pp.100-1. (Note Klebs' laconic formulation, p.274: "nur hier".)

Apparently the *HA* shows a predilection for some (Roman) saints:

St. Agnes: 40, RA 40 *inter naufragium castitatis*; 49, RB 11-12 *coronatur civitas tota, fit laetitia* (cf. app. crit. 23, RA 13-14)<sup>22</sup>

St. Martin, who was much venerated also in Rome<sup>23</sup>: 12, RA 19/RB 22

<sup>21</sup> For a full list in *RA* and *RB*, see *infra* Ind. locorum ex S.S. (Vulg.).

<sup>22</sup> For connections between the *HA* and hagiography in general, see ed. m., n.582; for St. Agnes, see also Panayotakis (2003), pp.155-6.

<sup>23</sup> Strictly speaking, of course St. Martin is not a Roman saint; nevertheless he was extremely popular in Rome as well, cf. Sulp. Sev., *Dial.* 1,23,3 (ed. C. Halm, *Sulpicii Severi Libri qui supersunt*, Vindobonae 1861, p.176: *exultantes librariorum vidi, quod nihil ab his quaestiosius haberetur, si quidem nihil illo promptius, nihil carius venderetur*, 'I have seen booksellers jumping for joy (when Paulinus of Nola introduced the life of St. Martin in Rome),

Pope Sebastian: 50, RA 13 *fati munus implere* (cf. Migne, PL 17, 1135<sup>B</sup>; seldom in Latin, cf. ThLL VI.I 366 76-7).

The conclusion seems highly probable: the *HA* in both Recensions must be considered as a Christian product, written probably in Rome.

### 3. CONSEQUENCES FOR THE INTERPRETATION, THE GENESIS OF THE TEXT AND ITS EDITION

The consequences of the methodology we have employed are considerable both for the constitution of the text of *RA/RB* and for the genesis of the text.

#### 3.1 *The constitution of the text*

Throughout the text we find apparently unconnected ablatives, having God as subject, such as:

12, RA 23	<i>deo adveniente</i> ~ RB 26 <i>deo favente</i>
4, RA 11/RB 14	<i>deo favente</i> (= 12, RB 26; 13, RA 10)
28, RA/RB 1	<i>deo gubernante</i>
41, RB 9	<i>deo iubente</i> (in Tharsia's song)
12, βπ 4	<i>deo volente</i> ; see <i>infra</i> n.31; Introd. VII.1.
(= 13, RB 10; 20, RA 10)	

At first sight they seem to be later accretions to the text of *RA* and *RB* and editors are usually keen to delete them.<sup>24</sup> How wrong this is appears from the argument above, the more so since these ablatives functionally fit very well into their context.

Another direct consequence is that *deus* and *dominus* must in the first instance refer to the Christian God, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. *dominus* = *deus*.

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because they considered nothing more profitable, nothing selling more readily, nothing making a better price'. The gesture of dividing his own cloak into two equal parts was also known in Greek pagan literature (e.g. Lucian, *Toxaris* 30), as in biblical literature (4 *Reg.* 2,12) and in hagiographic writings, cf. P. Devos 'Le manteau partagé. Un thème hagiographique en trois de ses variantes', *AB* 93 (1975), pp.157-65. Therefore, the change of *RA* from a Greek text into a Latin one need not have been radical.

<sup>24</sup> The earliest editors already felt that these ablatives could be deleted: Riese (1871), Praef., p.IV-V; (1893), Praef., p.XVII; Thielmann (1881), p.6: 'Aber auch ganze Sätze, in denen der Name Gottes erwähnt wird, lassen sich, ohne daß der Zusammenhang eine Einbusse erlitte, völlig ausscheiden.' Under the influence of Klebs, pp.187-91, this theory of interpolation has led to considerable excesses until quite recently (Schmeling, 1988). For the term 'accretions', cf. Schmeling, *Notes*, p.132.

### 3.2 *The genesis of the text*

In respect of the constitution of the text as well as its genesis the conclusions we have reached are not without importance. All the arguments adduced by Klebs in favour of his **Hi** (*cf. supra* I. Stemmata) are directly applicable to Christian writers of the 5th and 6th centuries, the more so if they worked from a centre such as Rome. Without discussing specific details one can make the following observations:

- Pagan inscriptions like *D(is) M(anibus)*, which we find in various places in the *HA* (*cf.* Ind. nom. propria, *s.v.* Manes), were also frequently used by Christians, in Rome as elsewhere, on the one hand to safeguard their graves against plundering and violation, on the other to preserve something of the past, of ancient splendour. Moreover, in the more or less bilingual Rome translation and/or adaptation of originally Greek *tituli* was certainly not out of the question: in practice Greek and Latin could be combined even within a single inscription.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately our redactors no longer knew the exact beginning of the inscription: instead of the abbreviated dative *D.M.* they wrote (joined by *RB*!) *Dii Manes* (38, *RB* 8 *Dii Manibus*) in full.<sup>26</sup>
- The striking borrowings from classical authors, mostly in simplified form, (Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Lucan, Apuleius,<sup>27</sup> and the probably later Symposius/Symphosius) are not conspicuous, not to say common. They occur in appropriate places in the *HA* and could theoretically have been introduced at any time; now, at this point of our reasoning, it becomes evident that they are a form of personal embellishment. Nearly all of them are connected with Rome and its history, see ch.11, *app. crit.* Consequently it is textcritically indefensible to attempt to turn these reminiscences into classical hexameters; see further *Introd.* VII.1 and 2.
- The emphasis in the *HA* upon terms of endearment, little words of intimacy like 24, *RA* 1-3 *puella/puellula* (= *uxor*); 24, *RA* 2 *sponsus* (= *maritus*), the general emphasis on all round education and schooling, the preference for a somewhat enigmatic manner of expres-

<sup>25</sup> *Cf.* F. Becker, *Die heidnische Weiheformel D.M. auf altchristlichen Grabsteinen*, Gera 1881; Ch. Pietri, *Grabinschrift*, in *RAC* XII Stuttgart (1983), coll. 514-90; C. Carletti, *Iscrizioni Cristiane a Roma*, Testimonianze di Vita Cristiana (sec. III-VII), Firenze 1986, no.137, pp.148-9; ed. m., notes 665, 673.

<sup>26</sup> It is just possible that the nominative written in full goes back to the Greek formula θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι 'the infernal gods', *cf.* LSJ, *s.v.* καταχθόνιος.

<sup>27</sup> *Cf.* Index auctorum latinorum. For the survival of Apuleius' writings in Rome, *cf.* Ken Dowden, 'The Roman Audience of the Golden Ass,' in J. Tatum, *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, Johns Hopkins University Press 1994, pp.429-34, esp. pp. 433-4.



sion, all these elements<sup>28</sup> are primarily typical of all the writers of this time. They can be safely ascribed to our writers *RA* and *RB*. (Whether perhaps also their eventual Greek model **R(Gr)** was responsible for this group of expressions we shall discuss below, *cf.* n.40.)

- Finally Klebs' strongest argument for his **Hi**, viz. the names of coins and their use.<sup>29</sup> Indeed it is true that by the beginning of the fourth century reckoning by *sestertii* had become totally obsolete and that reckoning by *folles* had completely supplanted it. Nevertheless such a change in currency by no means implies the disuse of the older monetary terminology. In fact these terms live on, and precisely the term *sestertius* lives on in the *HA*, as in the hagiography and later writings, albeit without any precise idea of either its real orthography, form, material or its value. In this connection it is amusing to note that the author of *RA* continually refers to *sestertius aureus*, although the *sestertius* was a silver coin. Hence the invariable correction by *RB*, who, evidently knowing better,<sup>30</sup> omits *aurei* everywhere, *cf.* Ind. vocum, s.v. *sestertius*.

All in all, it is evident that there is no reason whatsoever to assume such a final phase as **Hi**, or to believe that this could have been an intermediate phase to a contemporary Greek original, *cf.* n.13. Much more probable is the opposite view, which many writers have put forward or suggested without adducing explicit arguments,<sup>31</sup> that underneath *HA* in its present integral form there lies a Greek story, longer and of another shape, which we would like to call **R(Gr)**.

<sup>28</sup> See Kortekaas, *Enigmas*, l.l., p.181, n.11.

<sup>29</sup> For the present, see Kortekaas, *Enigmas*, l.l., p.181, n.12.<sup>30</sup> For consistent correction of certain names of coins in *RB*, *cf.* ed. m., n.668.

<sup>31</sup> We must, however, note three exceptions. In his Praef., pp.XVI-XVII as well as in his Index, pp.117-31 Riese (1894) pointed out numerous correspondences to Greek usage, especially in Xenophon of Ephesus (s.v. *currere, deo volente, genu, impudenter, innocens, leno, misereri, o me miserum, piscator, princeps civitatis, prosterni pedibus, prostibulum, salutaris, scindere vestes, tertia hora, Tharsis, tragoedia, triginta dierum spatium, venti prosperi, virginitas, volumina*). Although many of the words Riese lists need to be subjected to critical scrutiny, it is evident that with this approach he argued for a Greek original. Another exception is Fr. Garin, the author of 'Su i romanzi greci', *SIFC* 17 (1909), pp.423-60. His article 'De Historia Apollonii Tyrii', *Mnemosyne*, N.S. 42 (1914), pp.198-212 is a veritable *Fundgrube* for the relations between the *HA* and the Greek novel, and has been gratefully used in the *app. fontium* of the present edition. The article by C. Ruiz-Montero, 'La estructura de la Historia Apollonii regis Tyri', *CFC* 18 (1983-84), pp.292-334 also contains a great deal of valuable fundamental material. Unfortunately none of these scholars has undertaken a systematic study of the genesis of the text.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RA AND RB COMPARED WITH EACH OTHER

On a cursory reading of a few pages of the *HA* and a superficial comparison of the two recensions the reader will be inclined to assume that these are two discrete versions, which in some places show remarkable agreements, but elsewhere are completely at variance with each other. It is not surprising that this is the standard view among students of the *HA*. However, we are deeply convinced that throughout the text *RB* is closely related to *RA* and should be regarded as a continuous attempt at improvement, resulting primarily from a wide reading and from a logical insight. To trace this relation from word to word, from line to line, is a very exacting undertaking, but at the same time most desirable. In the following we shall point out a few general principles governing *RB*'s corrections. *RB* was not always entirely consistent. It has been considered useful to give a few examples of such incomplete consistency, the more so since past editors (Klebs, Schmeling) often insisted on consistency.

#### 1. VOCABULARY AND SYNTAX

A large number of differences affect Latinity in vocabulary and syntax. *RB* clearly aims at a more classical style, e.g.:

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 13, RA 11 | <i>se approximare</i> , cf. ThLL II 316,75 (no other example) ~ RB 10 <i>miscuit se</i> (cf. Verg., <i>Aen.</i> 1,440) |
| 19, RA 15 | <i>praeter tui contumeliam</i> , cf. ThLL IV 802,42 (gen. obiectiv.) ~ RB 14 <i>sine contumelia tua</i>                |
| 34, RA 20 | <i>dedit ad te</i> ~ RB 21 <i>dedit tibi</i> , cf. Riese (1893), p.V, n.1  |
| 38, RA 19 | <i>subsannium</i> (cf. <i>σανίδωμα</i> 'planking') ~ RB 15 <i>sentina</i>  |
| 41, RA 6  | <i>lucti</i> (nom. plur.) ThLL VI.II.2 1737 43-6 (hic locus deest) ~ RB 6 <i>luctus</i>                                |
| 43, RA 3  | ( <i>crines</i> ), <i>quas</i> ThLL IV 1201 75-80 (noster locus deest) ~ RB 3 <i>quos</i>                              |
| 43, RA 6  | <i>efficerer</i> ~ RB 4 <i>fierem</i> .  |

*RB* is especially keen on a correct use of prepositions and of verb tenses:

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 13, RA 10 | <i>ad ludum ludere</i> , cf. ThLL VII.II.2 1778,40 ~ RB 9 <i>pilae lusum exercere</i> |
|-----------|---|

- 15, RA 5                    *in honorato loco*, cf. ThLL VI 2950,57-9 ~ RB 5  
                                  *honorabili loco*  
 5, RA 5                    *habes* ~ RB 4 *habebis*  
 38, RA 8                   *vado* ~ RB 6 *vadam*  
 43, RA 14                  *habet* ~ RB 12 *habuerit*.

Elsewhere he may let Late Latin forms stand, e.g.:

- 12, RB 1                   *mortemque minatur*; 12, RB 24 *Paupertatem ...*  
                                  *sufficiet* (acc. as subject)  
 33, RA/RB 2              *transiebat* (instead of *transibat*)  
 35, RB 8-9                *de lupanar reversa*, cf. ThLL VI 43,50 sqq  
 35, RA 6/RB 7            *Quantum* (instead of *quanto*) *melius*  
 48, RB 31                  *unde adveniens* (nom. pendens).

## 2. INDELICATE TERMS

Indelicate terms and more or less vulgar words tend to be replaced in *RB* by less objectionable alternatives:

- 1, RA 17                   *guttae sanguinis* ~ RB 16 *certa*  
 24, RA 2                   *ventriculum deformatum* ~ RB 2 *ventriculum*  
                                  *formatum*  
 24, RA 13                *concupiens* ~ RB /  
 34, RA 5                   *violare* ~ RB 5 *humiliare*  
 39, RA 12                *filiam diligebat* ~ RB 14 *ut filiam diligebat*  
 44, RA 5                   *sanguis de naribus* ~ RB 8 *sanguis de genu*.

## 3. THE ROLE OF *FATUM*, *FORTUNA* AND ASTROLOGY

The role of *fatum*, *fortuna* and of astrology is eliminated, which often implies a radical departure from the text of *RA*, e.g.:

- 6, RA 11-13               *inquisivit quaestiones ... Chaldaeorum* (i.q. astrologorum) ~ RB /  
 11, RA 2                   *premente fortuna* ‘under the pressure of *fortuna* (= τύχη)’ ~ RB 3 *eo quod ibi benignius agi adfirmaretur* ‘because people said that there people lived in wealthier circumstances’, cf. 34, RA 9 *fortunae casus* ~ RB 9 *temporum vices*  
 29, RA 15                *ultimum fati signavit diem*, cf. ThLL VI 366 56-7 ~ RB 13 *ultimum vitae finivit diem*  
 38, RB 2                   *si genesis* (‘stellar constellation’) *permisisset*, cf. ThLL VI.2 1803,24 ~ RB /

48, RA 8-9      *fac quod iubet* (sc. *somnium*) ~ RB 6 *fac quod tibi videtur*.

*RB's* most drastic interventions affect descriptions of mourning rituals:

30, RA 5      *lucens eam anno* ~ RB /  
 30, RA 8      *nisi ... ferens ampullam vini invokeret coronas* ~ RB /  
 30, RA 8-9      *manes parentum suorum invocabat* ~ RB *casus suos omnes exponeret et fleret*.

#### 4. CURSUS RYTMICUS

Many of *RB's* changes are to be explained by the use of the variant types of the so-called *cursus*.<sup>32</sup>

11, RA 4      *tranquillum mare* ~ RB 5 *máre tranquillum* (pl.)  
 12, RA 6      *crudelissimus Antiochus persequabatur* ~ RB 9 *rex crudelissimus persequátur* (v.)  
 25, RA 4      *navigare iussit* ~ RB 3 *navigáre praecépít* (pl.)  
 31, RA 15      *tolle Tarsiam de medio* ~ RB 10 *Tarsiam tólle de médio* (t.)  
 31, RA 36      *permitte me testari dominum* ~ RB 23 *deum mihi testá-ri permittas* (pl.)  
 32, RA 6      *altum petierunt pelagus* ~ RB 5 *alto pélago petiérunt* (v.).

#### 5. RADICAL DIFFERENCES

Despite the many agreements between *RA* and *RB* there remain a large number of chapters which show radical differences between *RA* and *RB*, in the choice of words as well as length. The motives for these differences can all be attributed to the categories listed above. Sometimes, however, closer consideration may be required to ascertain the grounds

<sup>32</sup> This is a stylistic device based on the accentuation of successive words, mostly at the end of a sentence. It concerns especially the so-called: *cursus planus* (abbr. pl.) ¨ ¨ ¨ ¨ – e.g. *labóre complévi*; *cursus tardus* (abbr. t.) ¨ ¨ ¨ ¨ ¨ ¨ ¨ *latéque disséminat*; *cursus velox* (abbr. v.) ¨ ¨ ¨ ¨ ¨ ¨ ¨ ¨ *hominibus praedicáre* (The *cursus dispondeicus*, accentuation upon the second and sixth syllable, has been left aside in our studies.) For a rapid consultation, cf. Blaise, *Manuel* § 32, n.1. For a profound study esp. in connexion with the *HA*, cf. Puché Lopez (1993). The examples cited above are taken from a paper read by the same authority on the occasion of the ICAN congress on *The Ancient Novel in Context*, Groningen, July 25-30, 2000. In dating the *HA* the *cursus* is of a certain importance, cf. the end of this chapter.

for *RB*'s interventions. The reader should begin by consulting the following:

- c.22 RA 23 l. ~ RB 9 l. (abbreviation of preparations concerning the future wedding)
- c.31 RA 37 l. ~ RB 25 l. (abbreviation of the [pagan] plot to murder Tharsia)
- c.32 RA 57 l. ~ RB 29 l. (elimination of Dionysias' role)
- c.42-43 RA 10 riddles ~ RB 7 riddles (elimination of three riddles not befitting Apollonius' situation)
- c.45 RA 8 l. ~ RB 26 l. (insertion of a recognition-scene in accordance with customary descriptions).

Only rarely does *RB*, contrary to its tendency towards abbreviation (*cf.* General introduction), make substantial additions. Most of these additions contain further motivation which *RB* has considered necessary, *e.g.*:

- 12, RB 3 *gubernatore pereunte* ~ RA /
- 12, RB 4-5 *dum evomit undas, quas potaverat* (from the times of Hom., *Od.* 5,322 a real commonplace in ancient descriptions of shipwreck, *cf.* Achill *Tat.* 3,4,4; Theocr. 15,133; Verg., *Aen.* 5,181; Ovid., *Her.* 7,61; *id.*, *Met.* 15,513) ~ RA /
- 37, RB 1-2 *cum cotidie misericordia populi tantas congerit pecunias in sinu lenonis* ~ RA /
- 37, RB 2-4 *ne a quoquam civium deformis aspiceretur* ~ RA /
- 37, RB 17 *cum in tormento esset* (Luc. 16,23) ~ RA /.

In a few places *RB* blunders and thereby reveals his secondary position vis-à-vis *RA*:

- 7, RB 20 Apollonius is searched for *per mare*, although this search does not begin until ch.8.
- 14, RA 19 *quidam de senioribus* (one of the royal officials) ~ RB 15 *quidam senex invidus*
- 25, RB 26 *conclamatum est* (official mourning ceremony, during several days, *cf.* ThLL IV 71 24-40)
- 27, RA 6 (*sanguis*) a *perfrictione* (*coagulatus*) ~ RB 5 *ad perfectionem* (!)
- 31, RB 16 *abiit post monumentum*: the attempt on Tharsia's life took place in the front of the tomb rather than behind it, in Tharsia's back, *cf.* RA 27 *ibi latuit*. The attempt of Klebs (p.272 with n.2) to maintain *RB*, by interpreting *post* as *ad* has to be rejected. All examples cited by Blaise, *Dict. s.v. post* (II.1) read in their corresponding Greek original text: ὀπίσω 'behind'.

6. *RB* INDEPENDENT OF *RA*

In more than one respect, however, *RB* is independent of *RA*: c. 8, *RB* 2-10 contains an excursus serving to give a rational explanation why Apollonius travels to Tarsus, *cf.* *Intro.* VIII.2. Moreover, *RB* contains a number of Greek-sounding names which are absent in *RA* but which we do not miss there. Compare:

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| 26, <i>RB</i> 2  | <i>Chaeremon</i> (Χαιρήμων) ~ <i>RA</i> /  |
| 28, <i>RB</i> 9  | <i>cum filia vestra Philotimiade</i> (from? Φιλοτιμιάς) ~<br><i>RA</i> 8 <i>cum filia vestra</i> ;                   |
| 33, <i>RB</i> 3  | <i>Ninus</i> (Νίνος); 33, <i>RB</i> 23 <i>Amiantus</i> (Ἀμιάντος);<br><i>ibid.</i> <i>Breseida</i> (from? Βρησεΐδα); |
| 49, <i>RB</i> 10 | <i>Archistratem</i> (from Ἀρχίστρατις).  |

At the end of *HA* both Recensiones differ greatly:

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| 51, <i>RA</i> 33    | <i>in pace atque senectute bona defuncti sunt</i><br>( <i>sc.</i> Apollonius and his wife)  |
| 51, <i>RB</i> 26-28 | <i>Casus suos suorumque ipse descripsit et duo volumina</i><br><i>fecit: unum Dianae in templo Ephesiorum, aliud in</i><br><i>bibliotheca sua exposuit.</i> |

Naturally we will return to this point later: VII. 2.2.3.

The discussion in this section would seem to lead us to the conclusion that there is a close relation between *RA* and *RB*, with *RA* taking the primary position and *RB* the secondary one.<sup>33</sup> The rhythmic changes of *RB* remind us of the Christian Latin of Cyprian, Jerome and Augustine, *cf.* Blaise, *Manuel*, § 32.

Some of *RB*'s interventions resemble the methods and the changes within the *Vitae Patrum*. To cite a few examples:

- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| 11, <i>RA</i> 19 | <i>tribunarium</i> (τριβωνάριον 'small cloak'): intro-<br>duced in 11, <i>RA</i> 9 <i>sacco sordido circumdatum</i> ,<br>a method much used in <i>Vitae Patrum</i> ;  |
| 13, <i>RA</i> 11 | <i>approximavit se</i> (a standard translation of ἐγγίζω,<br>πλησιάζω 'approach'): which in the circle of the<br><i>Vitae Patrum</i> is often replaced by <i>se miscere</i> ( <i>RB</i> 10<br><i>miscuit se</i> ), <i>cf.</i> <i>ed. m.</i> , p.98; |

<sup>33</sup> M. Janka's article, 'Die Fassungen RA und RB in der Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri im Vergleich,' *RhM* 140 (1997), pp.168-87, arrives at much the same conclusions (p. 187) as we sketched above, but differs greatly in details of interpretation, since it attributes too much originality to *RB*. Unfortunately Janka does not deal with the possibility of a Greek origin (which on p.169 he hints at or leaves open).

51, RA 21

*fecit eum comitem* ~ RB 22 *ordinat comitem* (RB's iunctura is late and occurs frequently in the *Vitae Patrum* e.g. 3,99 *me clericum ordinaverunt in vico* (5,15,25 *fecerunt*; gr. [Cotelier p.125] ἐποίησαν); 3,188 *si scis eum fratrem esse dignum, ordino ego et illum* (antea: *presbyterum fecit*)<sup>34</sup>.

As a final conclusion of this chapter the question arises whether *HA* in its present form (*RA* ~ *RB*) might go back to a Greek original, just like numerous stories in the *Vitae Patrum*.

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<sup>34</sup> The *Vitae Patrum* present many and complex problems: see ed. m., p.115; nn. 609,634, 650; and *infra* n.54. A closer investigation of the relation between *HA* and the *Vitae Patrum* is a *desideratum*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### *RA* AND *RB* AS TRANSLATIONS/ADAPTATIONS OF A GREEK CHRISTIAN INTERMEDIATE PHASE *R(Gr)*

The symbol **R(Gr)** has been chosen following Klebs, who gave his intermediate phase the appellation R. It is clear we should proceed with great caution here, since we shall be moving in an entirely subjective terrain, without any written document. Sustained efforts in the recent past to track down a Greek Apollonios novel which could have furnished a starting-point for our **HA(Gr)** through a study of papyrus fragments have so far been unsuccessful, *cf.* supra n.4. Before we enter upon this thorny discussion, a few preliminary observations need to be made. It is evident that the authors of *RA* and *RB* – who apparently aim at a correct Latinity and quote Latin authors for this purpose – were keen to avoid linguistic obscurities as much as possible. Furthermore, we must emphasise that throughout the Middle Ages *HA* was read as mankind's favourite novel. Of course, these premisses imply that the reading public did understand the text, notwithstanding errors and translations of doubtful interpretation. After all, these errors cannot be very numerous, as our romance, precisely on account of the purity of its language, was judged worthy of quotation in a grammatical treatise entitled *De dubiis nominibus*, *cf.* 13, *RA* 6 (app. font.); ed. m., General Index, *s.v.* *De dubiis nominibus*. If nevertheless a Greek original and a Greek intermediate phase **R(Gr)** are insisted upon, we would like to approach this problem from three angles.

#### 1. MORE OR LESS OBVIOUS TRANSLATION ERRORS

We intentionally treat this aspect first, since the other arguments we have referred to (to which many arguments of probability could be added) derive their force from actual errors.<sup>35</sup> They are not very numerous in the *HA*, but are certainly demonstrable, as already appeared from our synopsis of the contents of the *HA*. Their small number speaks well for the

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<sup>35</sup> We are sorry to note that even such an expert as D. Konstan, who has been of great service to *HA* scholarship through his linguistic commentary (*cf.* supra), radically rules out a Greek original by using such arguments as narrative patterns in the Greek novel, which are apparently missing in the *HA*, without considering



translating ability and the level of adaptation of the two authors of *RA* and *RB*. A full discussion cannot be given here. In checking possible translations and identifying translation errors the *Glossaria Latina* have been a primary aid, especially tom. VI-VII, cf. G. Goetz, *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum*, pars prior-pars posterior, Lipsiae 1899-1901 (abbreviated CGL). Compare:

- 1, RA 16                      *stans* ~ *RB* /. Probably (Riese, 1871, Praef. XI) this represents *στᾶσα* ‘after she had struggled to her feet from her bed’.
- 6, RA 10                      *Pervenit innocens tandem Apollonius ... ad patriam suam*: The translator probably took ἀβλαβής in another sense than intended, cf. LSJ, s.v.: I (Pass.) ‘unharméd, unhurt’; II (Act.) ‘not harming, innocent’. Instead of the required first sense (Apollonius was pursued but eventually escaped [= *tandem*, ἦδη]) he, possibly understandably, opted for the easier second meaning. *RB* followed him: 10, *RB* 7 *petiit patriam innocentis*.
- 6, RA 17                      *Atque ita onerari praecepit naves frumento*. Editors either substitute *Atque ita* A for *Ex exiens foras* P (Riese [1893] praef. XIX; Klebs p.174, n.1) or prefer the alternative reading *Et exiens foras* P (cf. 22, RA 12). So Schmeling (1988), *ad loc.* However, the reading of A has to be retained, corresponding probably with καὶ οὕτως ‘in this situation’ (i.e. under the pressure of ill fortune), cf. Introd. V.1. The alternative reading of **P** as well as *RB ut homo locuplex* are only attempts to improve a text which was considered incomprehensible. *RA* probably has followed his model slavishly, without understanding the context.
- 10, RA 3.9                      *Cives Tharsis* (*RB* 2.7 *Cives Tarsiae*): Riese (1872), Praef. XI probably rightly considered Apollonius’ words in *RA* as a *firmum argumentum Graecae origi-*

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translation errors as possible arguments, cf. ‘Apollonius, King of Tyre and the Greek Novel’ in Tatum (1994), pp.173-82; *id.*, *Sexual Symmetry: Love in the Ancient Novel and Related Genres*, Princeton (1994), esp. pp. 100, 112-3. On the contrary, the *HA* shows in its narrative structure, lexical usage and narrative elements all the characteristic features of the novels composed in Greek, cf. T. Hägg, *Narrative Technique in Ancient Greek Romances*, Stockholm 1971; A. Billault, *La création romanesque dans la littérature grecque à l’époque impériale*, Paris 1991. Of course, from a strictly logical point of view such an approach can never prove the thesis that the *HA* was translated from the Greek.

11, RA/RB 10

*nis* in so far as they correspond exactly with the stereotype address of Dio Chrysost. in his two orations to the citizens of Tarsus, namely Ἄνδρες Ταρσεῖς (*Or.* 33,57; *Or.* 34,1.7.37). See for the aspirated form Θαρσεῖς *Introd.* VIII.1.8.

*Notus clipeum scindit* ~ RB *Notus clipeum* (lacuna): most probably this is a direct translating error. It may well be the result of a mistaken interpretation of ὄπλον. This word may mean (*cf.* LSJ, *s.v.*, III): ‘implements of war; arms and armour’ and especially (*ibid.* III.c): ‘the large shield’, *cf.* ὀπλῖται. However, the first sense given (*ibid.* I): ‘a ship’s tackle, tackling’. For this sense also see the verb ὀπλίζω (*cf.* LSJ, *s.v.* I.2): Hom. *Od.* 17.288 νῆες ... ὀπλίζονται ‘ships were made ready for sailing’. The translator/adaptor *RA* (followed by *RB*) wrongly opted for the first sense and translated *clypeus/clipeum* ‘shield’. No wonder *RB* breaks off here, to resume the poem only after seven lines (*cf. infra* n.84). The translation of *RA* should therefore be something like: ‘The south wind tore the total tackle of the ship to rags in deep darkness’.

In our view the translator/adaptor of **R(Gr)** has attempted here to combine a Greek word ὄπλον (*sing.*) with the corresponding Latin equivalent *arma* (*plur.*). Elsewhere too he follows this method 12, *RA* 8 *tribunarium* [τριβωνάριον] ~ *saccus*; 17, *RA* 20 *zaeta* [δαίτα] ~ *mansio*. Here however the attempt must be considered erroneous.

(In an earlier article [1988] I assumed a mistranslation of τὸ γέπρον (*cf.* LSJ, *s.v.* I): ‘oblong shield’ (= *clypeus*). In addition to this usual sense this word also has a very specific sense, viz. ‘a ship’s cabin made of wickerwork as a protection against the elements’ [*Achill. Tat.* III,2]. In view of the interpretation given above, my earlier explanation now seems too far-fetched.)

12, *RA* 3

*Iterum stans Apollonius in litore* ~ *Iterum P* is considered either as a gloss and therefore deleted or corrected to *Interim*. However, perhaps this reading is to be regarded as a mistranslation of πάλιν ‘in his turn’, *cf.* LSJ, *s.v.* πάλιν (III): ‘in turn’,

- ‘again’; *Less. s.v. πόλιν* ‘a propria volta’ with many examples afforded just by the Greek Novel.
- 12, RA 8 *cum sibimet ipsi increparet* ~ RB 4 *Haec dum loquitur: Increpare* in this sense (as standard translation of ἐπιτιμᾶν ‘allay a storm’) can be found in Classical Latin (cf. ThLL VII 1055 12-5) as well as in Late Latin (cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, *s.v. increpo* [2]: Gelas., *Tractatus* [ed. Thiel] p.554: *increpat fluctibus*). Especially N.T. affords some parallels, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, *s.v. ἐπιτιμᾶν*. Probably RA read αὐτῷ ‘himself’ instead of αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ πελάγει). The original text probably was something like ‘when he was trying to allay the storm’. RB tried to correct the error (11) *Haec dum loquitur*.
- 15, RA/RB 2 *dedit osculum patri ... amicis*, said of the chaste African princess; presumably incorrectly translated from ἀσπάζομαι, which may refer to any kind of greeting, from kissing to curtsying.
- 16, RA 21/RB 19 *induit statum*, said of Apollonius when he dons the long citharoedic dress, crowning himself with probably a golden wreath (Plato, *Ion* 535<sup>D</sup>], cf. W. Schmid (in Rohde [1914], p.437 n.2); Hunt ‘Apollonius Citharoedus’ *HSCPh* 91 (1987), pp.283-7. In this interpretation *status* is to be considered as equivalent to *vestis*, which in the HA is mostly rendered by *habitus* (cf. 14, RA 12/RB 10; 16, RA 28; as for *habitus*, cf. Ind. verb., *s.v.*). Probably it is a mistranslation of σχῆμα in the meaning ‘dress, equipment’, cf. LSJ, *s.v. σχῆμα* 4.b; Lampe, *s.v. σχῆμα* (8). For this meaning one may compare in Late Greek σχῆμα μοναστικόν ‘monk’s habit’. (The interpretation: ‘attitude’, ‘posture’ [cf. Klebs, p.129, n.3; 208, n.8; 216, n.1] is, in our view, refuted by 16, RA 28 *ingreditur in comico habitu*.)
- 16, RA 29 *mirabili manu et saltu inauditas actiones expressit* ‘he acted out a mime show with remarkable hand-movements and leaps, never seen before’ ~ RB 25 *inauditas actiones expressit*: this sentence probably is translated directly from Greek, as the ThLL cannot afford a parallel neither for *actio* (cf. ThLL I 439,46) nor for *expressit* (cf. ThLL V.2 1791,15). Perhaps the phrase goes back to a Greek expres-

- sion. The Greek equivalent of *actio* is πράξις, cf. CGL VI.19. This word meaning ‘action’ ‘exercise’ is especially used for mime-artists, cf. LSJ, s.v. II 2 who cites Plato, *Lach.* 192<sup>a</sup> ἐν ταῖς τῶν χειρῶν πράξεσιν ἢ σκελῶν ‘in the movements of hands or legs’. In *expressit* perhaps σχηματίζω lies hidden, cf. LSJ, s.v.: ‘of actors ‘gesticulate’ Xen., *Symp.* 1,9’. One wonders if RB understood the purport of the sentence.
- 25, RA 4/RB 3 *datā profectoriā*: both authors presumably intended here *datā profectoriā* (sc. cenā) ‘after a fare-well dinner’ (as do the various dictionaries, including ThLL X.2.2 1675, 68-72), but more plausible in our view is an erroneous translation of τὰ ἐφόδια διδόναι ‘give travelling-money’, ‘inheritance made available for a journey’, ‘necessary means for a long voyage’, which served for the king’s daughter to support and prove herself (*ornamenta regalia* HA, *passim*); moreover, a ‘farewell dinner’ is unknown in the Greek novel.<sup>36</sup>
- 33, RA 16 *Priapum aureum, gemmis et auro reconditum* ~ RB 14 *Priapum aureum ex gemmis et unionibus*: perhaps *reconditus* goes back to ἀποκεκρυμμένος ‘covered over’, cf. CGL VII, 464 s.v. ἀποκρύπτω ‘hide’. Probably translator and readers interpreted *reconditum* as ‘Priapus, hidden behind pearls and gold’. However, a similar witticism is in our view alien to the simple style of the HA, especially in its Latin form.
- 35, RA/RB 4 *per occultum aspectum*: according to Riese, Index, p.118, s.v.: ‘locus, unde spectatur’. He considered it to be an a.h. (“only here registered”), just as ThLL II 805,79. Several Greek words could underlie this phrase, e.g. ἄποψις ‘outlook’ ‘view’; σκοπή/σκοπία ‘lookout place’, perhaps ὀπή ‘opening’, cf. LSJ, s.v. ὀπή. Probably, the Roman reader did not have take offence at such usage.
- 36, RA 2 *lyrae ... inlido (inlidor A) ~ RB 1-2 lyrae ... inludo*. The reading of A has been rejected by all editors, cf. app. crit., ad loc. Rightly ThLL VII (s.v. inlido)

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Thielmann, l.l. p.5 (note): ‘*profectoria*, (= *quae in itinere necessaria erant*) nach γ, nicht wie Georges, Wörterbuch, s.v. meint Abschiedsschmaus.’

- 377,10 state: “dub. interp.”. Nevertheless a form like *inlidor* can be accepted perfectly as a direct translation of ἐγκρούω/ἐγκρούομαι, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐγκρούω (I)/κρούω (5) ‘strike a stringed instrument with a plectrum’, ‘generally, play any instrument’. For a translation *activum* → *medium*, cf. J.B. Hofmann ‘Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Vulgärlateins’, *IF* 43 (1926), pp.80-122, esp. p.90, n.2 (ἐδάκρυσεν ~ *lacrimatus est*). Note that in the New Greek adaptation (cf. Archibald, p.202), commonly also called *Narratio neograeca* (ed. Jannsen [1954]), the same verb is used: verse 667 καὶ τὴν κιθάραν ἔκρουεν ‘and she played on the cither’.
- 40, RA 6 *hominem honestum ac decoratum* (~ RB 5 *honesto cultu decoratum*): *decoratus* without further details is unusual. Probably it is a direct translation of κεκοσμημένος ‘orderly’. This pf. part. of κοσμέω ‘ornate’ is frequently used without further definition, cf. LSJ, s.v. κοσμέω (II): Plato, *Leges* 716<sup>a</sup>. The translation κεκοσμημένος ~ *decoratus* is standard, cf. ThLL V.I 213.37. RB 5 attempts to give an intelligent interpretation of what was to him an incomprehensible phrase in *R4*.
- 46, RA 9-10/RB 8 *ab auriculis* (A, Rα, [φF, L]: om. P) *eum comprehendunt* ~ *comprehensus est leno*: Undoubtedly every Roman reader will have understood this simple phrase: ‘(The townsfolk) seized the pimp by the ears.’ Nevertheless the combination *comprehendo ab* must have sound very strange in Roman ears. It is not registered in ThLL, neither s.v. *ab* nor s.v. *comprehendo*, cf. ThLL III 2144,82 sqq. Normally the construction *comprehendo* + *abl.* is sufficient, cf. Val. Max. 3,2,19 *aquiliferum ... faucibus comprehensum*. However, in Late Greek the combination with ἀπό (and ἐκ) is quite usual, cf. H. Ljungvik, *Studien zur Sprache der apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Uppsala 1926, p.29 citing Act. Phil. (ed. Bonnet) p.32,34 ἔσυρεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χειρός ‘he dragged him along by his hand’; Act. Xanth. p.74,7 κατεπιέν με ἀπὸ ποδῶν λαβόμενος ‘he swallowed me down, haven seized me by my legs’. A nice parallel is afforded by G. Ghedini, ‘La lingua dei Vangeli apocrifi greci’ (in: *Studi*

*dedicati a Paolo Ubaldi, Milano 1937, pp.443-80),*  
 p.452 citing Evang. Thomae B.5 κρατήσας αὐτοῦ  
 ἐκ τοῦ ὠτίου 'having seized him by the ear' (lat.  
*cum furore apprehendit eum per auriculam*).

A painstaking study of the *HA* furnishes some more evidence. These additional passages, however, would require more space for explanation. For the moment, the reader may consult the *Ind. verborum*, where I have marked with an asterisk those words which seem to me to go back to a Greek expression.

## 2. LANGUAGE AND STYLE REMINISCENT OF GREEK, ESPECIALLY OF THE GREEK NOVEL

In accordance with the subtitle we should like to present the evidence in three categories: 1) words to be explained from a Greek background; 2) constructions with some Greek flavour; 3) equal formulation in the *HA* and in the Greek novel.

### 2.1. Words to be explained from a Greek background

A number of words and phrases, though understandable for a Roman reading public, receive full relief only when seen in connection with a Greek model, e.g.:

10, RA 8-9

*octo aereis ... singulos aureos* ~ RB 10 *aeris octo ... singulos aureos*: no doubt the Roman reader understood the opposition *aereus* ~ *aureus* (cf. Klebs, pp.192,291), but it must go back to χαλκοῦς – χρυσοῦς, since Romans reckoned by *asses*, cf. ThLL I 1060, 42-50. Hence the correction by RB, which is based on Hor., *Sat.* 1,6,75 *ibant* (sc. *discipuli*) *octonos* (sc. *nummos*) *referentes Idibus aeris*. The laconic statement of Klebs, p.192: "Das Wort *aereus* für sich allein ist natürlich niemals die Bezeichnung einer bestimmten Münze gewesen" is characteristic of his method of argumentation.

17, RA 13/RB 12

*amatrix studiorum*, cf. φιλομαθής 'fond of learning' (no other example in ThLL 1830,14); *Introd.* VIII.1.7

27, RA 13/RB 12

*apodixis*, ἡ ἀπόδειξις 'proof' 'masterpiece'

29, RA 4/RB 3

*auditorium*, cf. ἀκροατήριον 'lecture-room' 'school'

1, RA 10/RB 9

*dolor* ('pangs of love'), cf. τὸ πάθος 'emotion' 'passion', cf. LSJ, s.v. (II)

- 1, RA/RB 6 *cum magna dotis pollicitatione currebant*: both *dos* and *curro* point to Homeric wooing practices, cf. ἔδνα ‘bride-price’ beside φοιτάω, *terminus technicus* for the suitor’s activity, cf. LSJ, s.v. φοιτάω ‘frequent’, s.v. (4): ‘abs. of a suitor’.
- 30, RA 5/RB / *induit priorem dignitatem*: probably mistranslation of ἐνέδν τὸ πρότερον ἄξίωμα (= ‘robe’), cf. LSJ, s.v. (5); *Acta Philippi* (ed. Lipsius-Bonnet, II,2 p.96,7) ἐνδυσάμενος τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἄξίωμα ‘having put on the clothes of the archpriest’. The translation *dignitas* = ἄξίωμα is standard, cf. CGL VI 344.
- 20, RA 9/RB 8 *habundantia studiorum*, cf. πολυμαθία ‘much learning’ (no other example in ThLL I 228,8)
- 14, RA 2 *iuro ... per salutem meam* Ring; *iuro ... per communem* (comu- P) *salutem meam* P ~ RB/RC (cf. Schmeling [1988], p.92,13) *iuro per communem salutem*: a very interesting place for the origin of the HA as well as for the genesis of the text. Editors differ greatly. They delete or retain either *communem* or *meam*. Ring (1881) rightly retained *meam*. The majority (Riese [1894], Tsitsikli [1981], Schmeling) prefer *communem*. The right reading is furnished by a Greek oath, evidently ignored by RB/RC and the editors, viz. μὰ(‘yes’)/νῆ(‘no’) τὴν σωτηρίαν μου ‘I swear by my personal well-being’, a solemn (mostly imperial) oath, here used ironically, cf. LSJ, s.v. σωτηρία ‘deliverance’; D. Tabachovitz, *Sprachliche und textkritische Studien zur Chronik des Theophanes Confessor*, Diss. Uppsala 1926, p.43 (with very amusing examples); G. Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane dai papiri greci del III-IV secolo*, Milano 1923, no.23. RB reading *per communem salutem* seemingly had no notion at all of such an oath. In the text-edition I have retained [*communem*] as an interesting vestige of early contamination.
- 13, RA/RB 4 *lusus* ‘toy’, cf. παίγνιον ‘plaything’ (no other example in ThLL VII.II.2 1890, 60-3)
- 39, RA 3 (RB 5) *Ibique* (‘in Mitylene’) *Neptunalia festa celebrabantur*, cf. M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, Leipzig 1906, p.83: ‘Posidea erscheinen in Mitylene in einem fragmentarischem Spendenverzeichnis der römischen Zeit: IG XII,2,71 Z.6 -εἰν ἱ’ς τὰ Ποσίδεα εὐτ’

- ‘for the festivities in honour of Neptune’. With 38 respect to the Latin *Neptunalia*, cf. Georges, *Wörterb.*, s.v. *Neptunalis* (b).
- 1, RA 15/RB 14 *nodus virginitatis*, cf. ἄμμια παρθενίας ‘hymen’: see C. Weyman, ‘Nodus virginitatis’, *RhM* 64 (1909), p.156; ed. m., pp.109-10; Panayotakis (2001), pp.599-605.
- 41, RA 32/RB 31 *parabola* ‘enigma’, cf. ThLL X.I.1 288,80; Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, s.v. παραβολή [6]: ‘riddle’
- 51, RA 18/RB 14 *paranymphus* ‘best man’, cf. παράνυμφος ‘best man’: a function unknown to the Romans (cf. ThLL X.I.1 312,10)
- 39, RA 8/RB 9 *pueri* ‘crew’, cf. παῖδες (LSJ, s.v. παῖς [III])
- 38, RA 17.19 *subsannium*, cf. ὑπό ‘beneath’ + τὸ σανίδωμα ‘planking’. For this word, which was nearly unknown to Romans, cf. Introd. II.2; ed. m., pp.100-1.
- 12, RA 19/RB 13.21 *tribunarium*, on the Latin side an h.l., cf. τὸ τριβωνάριον ‘small cloak’.

## 2.2. Constructions with some Greek flavour

The same is true of a number of typical phrases and constructions, e.g.:

- 14, RA 17 *epulantibus* (abl. abs. without subject [although not uncommon in Latin, cf. LHS II, p.141<sup>1</sup>] can be explained as a Greek similar construction retained in translating, cf. L. Radermacher, *Neutest. Gramm.* 1925<sup>2</sup>, p.209; frequently in Charit. and Heliod. RB 13 normalises: *cunctis epulantibus iuro tibi* (no other example in ThLL VII.2.1 673-7), cf. LSJ, s.v. ~ RB 10 *iuro te*
- 24, RA 1-2 *cum haberet ... mense iam sexto* (from [?] ὅτε εἶχεν μῆνας ἥδη ἕξ) ~ RB 1-2 *cum haberet ventriculum formatum sexto mense*: for the saying *habere* (abs., sc. *fructum in ventre/utero*), cf. ThLL VI.3 2398 6-11 (Late Latin; authors mostly with Greek background). RB has used a refined turn of phrase.
- 31, RA 9/RB 6 *pater, ex quo ... profectus est, habet annos XIII* (RA; XV RB): probably a literal translation of πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ ..., ἔχει ἔτη ιδ´, that is to say: ‘it is fourteen years since her father departed’. For this set phrase, scarcely attested in Latin (ThLL VI.3 2469,9 gives no other example), cf. ed. m., pp.111-2.



- 26, RA 16 *iuravi* (from ὁμόμοκα, a resultative perfect, cf. E. Schwyzer – A. Debrunner, *Griech. Gramm.* [München 1950], II p.287) ~ RB 15 *iuro*; similarly 46, RA 27 *redonavi* ~ RB 21 *dono*. Easily accepted in Christian Latin, cf. Blaise, *Manuel* § 230, n.1 *credidi* = *credo*.
- 40, RA 12 *amabili aspectu eius* (from [?] προσφιλοῦς [προσ]όψεως αὐτῆς) ‘with her charming appearance’ ~ RB 9 *et laudavi: eius* (RA), although questioned by many, is no doubt authentic and can be traced back to the abundant use of pronouns in different cases with the same referent. This use is characteristic of κοινή and later Greek, cf. A.N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, London 1987 (last impression), §§ 1399-1401. (With thanks to Prof. Aerts, who drew my attention to this place.)

### 2.3. Equal formulation in the HA and in the Greek novel

Another matter which we should discuss here is the equal formulation in the HA (especially in RA) and the Greek Novel. Although, as a matter of fact, just the same formulation is equally possible in Latin (task for the comm.), the similarity in the formulation is striking (compare the *app. fontium* and the *Index auctorum*), even in simple situations. We cite one instance in extenso: 51, RA 4 *pervenit feliciter* (RB /). This innocuous phrase (based on the fact that in Antiquity a journey could have a totally different outcome) finds a quite similar equivalent e.g. in Charit. 8,6,1 ὁ δὲ Χαιρέας ἤνυσεν τὸν πλοῦν εἰς Συκελίαν εὐτυχῶς, ‘Chaereas completed the journey to Syracuse successfully’. The almost immediately following sentence 51, RA 7 (*rex Archistrates*) *osculo suscipit Apollonium et filiam suam*, ‘(King Archistrates) received Apollonius and his daughter with a kiss’, finds a nice parallel in e.g. Charit. 6,4,8 (ὁ βασιλεὺς) προσλαβόμενος ὑπὸ χεῖρα τὸν εὐνοῦχον κατεφίλησε ‘He put his arm round the eunuch and with a kiss he embraced him’ (RB aliter). In this way, in some chapters from word to word (chs. 1, 6, 24, 28, 31, 32, 34, 45-46), parallels from the Greek novel, especially from Chariton and Xenophon of Ephesus, can be found and illustrated. Naturally this close affinity between the HA and the Greek Novel has to be studied more in depth. For the moment we may restrict ourselves to quoting the authoritative judgment of Riese (1893), Praef. XVI: “Et maxime in Xenophontis Ephesii fabula, quae est de Anthia et Habrocome, ab ipso operis exordio multa in rebus verbisque

Apollonii tam similia sunt, ut si quando hunc nostrae quoque fabulae auctorem esse ex fontibus adhuc ignotis appareat non sit quod miremur.” Although at the end of this Introduction we hope to persuade the reader to another judgment, the rightness of Riese’s statement regarding the close connection with Xen. of Ephesos cannot be denied, *cf.* Ind. auctorum, *s.v.* As far as we could see, parallels are summed up in the app. font. A useful handbook in this field of research here is F. Conca – E. De Carli – G. Zanetto, *Lessico dei Romanzieri Greci*, Cisalpino-Goliardica (s.a.), I-II, abbreviated *Less.*

One conclusion from sections 1 and 2 seems inescapable: most probably the *HA* is of Greek origin. Possibly the similarities in vocabulary, occasional syntactic constructions and style might lead one to the conclusion that the *HA* consciously imitates the Greek novel and that these elements were added by way of ‘*couleur locale*’. But these features combined with the direct translation errors discussed under 1 would seem to make such a suggestion untenable.

It seems advisable to conclude these remarks on the *Graecitas* of *RA* with the well-considered opinion of H. Hoppe ‘Griechisches bei Rufin’, *Glotta* 26 (1937), pp.132-44 concerning the number of references quoted in support (quotation p.144): ‘Im ganzen genommen sind <...> die Beispiele, bei denen sich zweifelloso Beeinflussung des Lateinischen durch die griechische Vorlage in der Gestalt von Gräzismen zeigt, nicht sehr zahlreich <...>. Sie bestätigen vielmehr sozusagen als Ausnahmen die Tatsache, daß Rufin <...> echt lateinisch geschrieben hat, auch in seinen Übersetzungen.’ For similar observations, *cf.* G. Bardy ‘Traducteurs et adaptateurs au quatrième siècle’, *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 30 (1940), pp.257-306. For further conclusions see Introd. VII.1.

### 3. *RB* VIS-À-VIS *RA* (A PROVISIONAL JUDGEMENT)

We must devote some separate attention to *RB*, now that we have shown that *RA* most probably goes back to an underlying Greek text. In our discussion of the relation between *RA* and *RB* we saw that *RB* is a continuous attempt on the Latin side to improve *RA*, with only a very occasional contribution of his own (see III.6 above) consisting mainly in Greek proper names. We shall return to this point at the end of our discussion (see VII.2.2: Correction via a Greek variant text). For the moment we wish to emphasise in respect of an underlying Greek text that generally *RB* follows *RA* in his choice of words (see section 1 above), but often replaces or eliminates Greek constructions and turns of phrase when he recognises or suspects errors (see section 2 above). We would like to illustrate this ten-

dency, which has probably caused the elimination of a large number of traces from the underlying Greek text, but we must restrict ourselves to a few important remarks concerning *RB*.

Often *RB* retains words containing Greek conceptions and Greek manners. Partly he may do so simply from ignorance (*dos*, *currere*, *paronymphus*, *profectoria*, *tribunarium*). On the other hand we must emphasise that his emendations, often made by means of a single letter (*aereus* *RA* → *aeris*; *iterum* *RA* → *Interim*; *iuro tibi* *RA* → *te* *RB*), seldom by means of a complete word (*Epulantibus* *RA* → *Epulantibus cunctis* *RB*), are sometimes to be called just brilliant. Hence the great attraction he exercised at times over Apollonian studies.<sup>37</sup> Therefore we must practise great caution in comparing *RA* and *RB*, since *RB* frequently offers no more than a touched-up reading.

Having thus established the real relationship between *RA* and *RB*, – *RA* as *facile princeps*, *RB* in second position –, we can pass over to the Greek source. As we will demonstrate in the next chapter, this was not the original Greek, pagan story **HA(Gr)**, but an intermediate phase, an epitome called **R(Gr)**.

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<sup>37</sup> The student may compare may compare the *app. crit.* on the following places in Schmeling (1988): 6,10; 7,15.23; 9,1; 11,26; 15,8; 17,17.26; 23,32; 24,16; 25,21; 30,11; 32,7-8; 33,3; 35,6; 38,8; 39,8.27; 41,4; 42,2.22.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### A CLOSER LOOK AT THE INTERMEDIATE PHASE $R(Gr)$

When at this stage of our inquiries we introduce the symbol **R(Gr)** for the intermediate phase, the reader could immediately raise objections against such a designation (and the direction of the discussion it stands for): why not opt for **R(Lat)** or simply **R**? Indeed, theoretically it would have been equally possible for both Recensions to go back to a Latin epitome, which perhaps in its turn was based upon a longer Greek model. (For such an opinion, see above, n.13.) However, it is our deepest conviction that such a hypothesis would be a mistake. It is extremely unlikely that the great quantity of Greek material in words and phrases as demonstrated in the preceding chapter should have been preserved notwithstanding the filter of a Latin epitomisation. Moreover, as we will presently demonstrate, direct linguistic evidence points to a Greek milieu, viz. the coast of Asia Minor, cf. VI.2. Finally, chronological problems (for instance Flavius Josephus, who was unknown in Western Europe until the second half of the 6th century; see n.41) speak against an assumption of the existence of a Latin epitome. On these grounds we feel justified in passing on to the Greek epitome **R(Gr)** without any further discussion.

In order to define the problem as accurately as possible, we would like to approach it from two angles:

- The necessity of assuming an *epitome* **R(Gr)**
- Localisation, date and nature of such an *epitome*.

#### 1. THE NECESSITY OF ASSUMING AN EPITOME $R(Gr)$

Even a superficial reading of the **HA** will confront one in almost every chapter with a number of fundamental problems, e.g.:

- 6, RA 11-13      *inquiri omnes quaestiones omnium Chaldaeorum (i.q. astrologorum) ~ RB aliter*. This interest of Apollonius in astrology is only seldom referred to *expressis verbis* elsewhere, cf. 38, RA 2 (a remark by the wicked fosterparents, when Apollonius comes to fetch his daughter) *si genesis* ('stellar constellation') *permisisset ~ RB /*.

- 6, RA 17 *Atque ita onerari praecepit naves frumento*: not a word as to the how and why, *cf.* Klebs (1899), p.308: “Der Versuch, Apollonius’ seltsamen Entschluß zu begründen als Kaufmann durch die Welt zu ziehen, versagt gänzlich” ~ RB 18 *ut homo locuplex*: this is no more than a superficial attempt at rationalisation, *cf.* Introd. IV.1.
- ch. 8-9-10 Logically ch.9 would have to come first: Stranguillio tells Apollonius of the famine in Tarsus (ch. 9); the citizens, out of gratitude, erect a statue to him (ch. 10); then Hellenicus appears, who tells Apollonius that he has been outlawed (ch. 8), whereupon Apollonius flees ‘*premente fortuna*’ (ch. 11). The term 11, RA 1 *Interpositis mensibus sive* (= *et*) *diebus paucis* corresponds exactly to the hypothetical order we have sketched. See for the factual situation Introd. VIII. RA 3.4.<sup>38</sup>
- 8, RA 4 *Hellenico, cive suo* ~ RB 12 *Helanico ... suo cive*; what was his relationship with Apollonius and with Tarsus, with which town he was apparently quite familiar? This cryptic formulation may perhaps be explained by the undoubted fact that Tarsus in imperial days had grown into a city which according to H.V. Morton, *In the steps of St. Paul*, London 1936, was “a perfect amalgamation of Orient and Occident” (p.58). Retaining his civil rights as a native of Tyros, Hellenicus probably took up his abode in Tarsus, albeit in a humble position, *cf.* 8, RA 7 *hominem plebeium* ~ RB /.
- 9, RA 2 *nomine Stranguillio*: a name such as *Stranguil(l)io*, apparently a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον in Latin and without a readily identifiable Greek equivalent (from? Στραγγυλίων ‘the killer’), cries out for further explication. As a Latin formation it might be connected to *strangulo* (I) ‘strangle’. The form *stranguilatur* is on record, *cf.* H. Schuchardt, *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins*, Bnd II, Leipzig 1867, p.277. For the geminated -ll-, *cf.* V. Väänänen, *Introduction au Latin vulgaire*, Paris 1981<sup>3</sup>, § 111.

<sup>38</sup> Garin (see preceding note 31) likewise observes the erroneous linkings in ch.8-9-10 and ch.51 (see at the end of this enumeration) but interprets them differently (p.210, n.6).

A Greek equivalent for this name is not to be found in P.M. Fraser – E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, I. *The Aegean Islands*, Oxford 1987; II. *Attica*, Oxford 1994; III<sup>A</sup> *Peloponnese, Western Greece, Silicia, Magna Graecia*, Oxford 1997; III<sup>B</sup> *Central Greece: from the Megaria to Thessaly*, Oxford 2000. But it is obvious that a more complete text should have offered some sort of explanation for the name, since the extant form of the *HA* does not give any reason for this appellation.

Even essential story elements are not properly worked out:

- 24, RA 2      *advenit eius sponsus, rex Apollonius* ~ RB /: the reader wonders: from where?
- 24, RA 14      *Opes autem et regnum eius* (sc. Antiochi, regis Antiochiae) *servantur* (RA: *reservantur* RB) *regi Apollonio*, cf. *ibid.*, RA 18 *regnum devotum* ~ RB 15 *regnum*: but the reader wonders what claim Apollonius has to the throne of Antioch (cf. *infra* VI.1).
- 25, RA 3/RB 2      *obstetricem peritissimam propter partum eius simul navigare iussit* (RA; *praecepit* RB): we never hear anything again of this midwife.
- 25, RA 29      In his hasty and superficial epitomisation the epitomator, followed by RB, omits to mention the *codicillos scriptos*, although these play an important part already in the following chapter, cf. 26, RA/RB 9 *sqq.* The error was noticed by an attentive scribe (γ [s. XIII<sup>IN</sup>], which belongs to **RC**). Both Riese (1893), p.48 (RB) and Schmeling 1988 (p.19,2 and p.61,1) insert the omitted reference into the text!

Essential notions, especially those affecting the code of honour of hospitality for the ξένοι, or the right of asylum that goes with a *statua principis*, are never properly explained:

- 28, RA 8      *commendo vobis filiam meam*: the how and why of this παρακαταθήκη ‘deposit entrusted to one’s care’ is never explained, nor is Apollonius’ decision to travel to Egypt (*ibid.*, RA 18) to return only after fourteen years (37, RA 1) motivated, although the reason is obvious.

- 29, RA 24-26 *invenies statuam patris tui Apollonii: apprehende statuam ... cives liberabunt te.* One's inviolability by touching an imperial statue remains in the dark. The right of asylum for female slaves in the temple of Artemis in Ephesus is never even mentioned. This is the more striking as Tarsus itself possessed as a whole the right of asylum, *cf.* G. Dagron – D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Paris 1987, no.29: Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ταρσέων | τῇ[ς] μητροπόλεως τῶν | κατὰ Κυλικίαν τῆς [ίε]ρᾶς | καὶ ἀύ[λου] | Νέστορι Χά[ρ]μωνος <...>. 'The people of Tarsus, the metropolis of the Cilicians, sacred and inviolable, <dedicate this statue> to Nestôr, son of Charmôn <...>.'

Certain expressions can only be understood if one assumes an *epitome* in which their original meaning has been utterly lost:

- 38, RA 15 *O me miserum* ~ RB 13 *Heu me miserum*: incomprehensible from someone who has just found back his daughter!
- 39, RA/RB 2 *Per diversa discrimina maris iactantur*: the text as we have it never makes clear that Apollonius has got badly off course; instead of heading south (Tyre) he now arrives in Mitylene.
- 45, RA 6 *Pereat haec civitas* ~ RB /: why is the whole town punished? Surely the citizens had gone out of their way to help Tharsia? (*cf.* ch.36)
- 49, RA 1-14/RB 1-5 not a word of thanks to Artemis, although it was she who orchestrated the meeting between father, mother and daughter.
- 51, RA/RB 9 *dimittens medietatem regni sui filiae suae*: that Archistratis was the heiress in a matriarchal situation (*cf.* Deyermond [1968-9], p.132 n.5) does not become clear to the reader until the end of the story and then through a casual remark.
- 51, RA 11-23 The meeting with Hellenicus (from Tarsus, *cf.* ch.8) is mistakenly localised on the beach of Cyrene. The error was followed by RB.

Our final conclusion is obvious: the *HA* is available to us only in the form of an epitome, which affects the whole story. All motivation is lacking. Pagan cultic elements have become merely links that help the story onward.

2. LOCALISATION, DATE AND NATURE OF THIS *EPITOME*

Since it is precisely the pagan motivation which has been eliminated (cf. e.g. *supra* § 1: 6, RA 11-13.17), it is clear that such an *epitome* must have been made in a Christian environment. Theoretically the *epitome* could also have been produced in a Latin milieu, say in Rome. (See our observations at the beginning of this chapter.) Yet there are several *indicia* suggesting Asia Minor and a late date. Especially in the final chapters the *epitomator* turns out to be familiar with monastic terminology in a nunnery (*Acta Petri et Andreae* [ed. Lipsius-Bonnet] c.22 μοναστήριον παρθένων ‘nunnery’). Compare:

48, RA 15-16

*Nuntiatur hoc illi maiori omnium sacerdotum ~ RB 10  
Dicitur illi matri omnium sacerdotum.*

Undoubtedly the Roman adaptor has understood the phrase and interpreted the expression *maior omnium sacerdotum* as “maior natu”, perhaps “maxima natu”. Nevertheless, the term *maior* = *abbatissa* is not registered in ThLL VIII 132 8-12, only for abbots, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *maior* (3): Bened., *Reg.* 2 *abbas debet ... nomen maioris factis implere*; Linderbauer, p.159. The reading of RA could be derived directly from Gr. (?) μειζότερος/-ρα, cf. Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, s.v. μέγας: (B.2) μειζότερος: ‘superior of a monastery, opp. ὁ δεύτερος Pall. *Hist. Laus.* 32 (p.90,8; Migne 34, 1100<sup>A</sup>)’ (cf. 49, RA 12 *secunda* ~ RB 14 *sequens*). (Klebs, p.261; 272, n.1 considered *maiori* as an interpolation.)

RB introduces the *t.t.* ‘mater’, cf. ThLL VIII 440,3 (with examples taken from Hier., Gaudent., Greg. Magn., Caes. Arl.). Theoretically this reading could have gone back to μήτηρ, cf. Lampe, s.v. (4), but this hypothesis is barely tenable facing the overwhelming use of *mater* = *abbatissa* in Late Latin, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. *mater* (6); Blatt, *Novum Glossarium*, s.v. *mater* (III.4); Niermeyer, s.v. *mater* (1).

49, RA 11-12

*et constituit loco suo ipsa sacerdotem, quae ei secunda erat et cara*<sup>39</sup> ~ RB 13 *quae sequens ei erat et casta*

<sup>39</sup> For general information, cf. ed. m., n.627; S. Elm, ‘Virgins of God’, *The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 1996.



*caraque*. Here too the Roman reader will have had few difficulties with the translation of *secunda*. Nevertheless this *secunda* in our view is a *terminus technicus* for δευτεραρία, cf. Lampe, *Patrist. Dict.*, s.v. ‘prioress’ ‘deputy head’, the feminine counterpart of δευτεράριος/δευτέρος ‘prior of a monastery’, cf. B. Steidle, ‘Der “Zweite” im Pachomiuskloster’, *Benediktinische Monatschrift* XXIV (1948), pp.97-104, 174-9).

A beautiful parallel for the choice of words as well as for the situation is offered by *Vita S. Melaniae* (SC 90), ch.41 (p.206) (καὶ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν ταπεινοφροσύνης μὴ καταδεξαμένη εἶναι ἡγουμένη), ἑτέραν κατέστησεν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, πνευματικὴν καὶ ζέουσαν τῷ εἰς Θεὸν πόθῳ ‘(and out of an excess of humility not accepting to be abbess), she appointed for that function another nun, spiritual and ardent of devotion to God.’ Just as in the *HA*, the δευτεραρία took over all the functions of the abbess in case of absence (as here) or death. Supposedly *RB* has understood his model. However, whether he understood also the highly specialised monastic term *secunda* ‘assistant of the prioress’ is highly problematical: lexicons do not register this function. Hence the paraphrase of *RB*, making use of the by now everywhere accepted construction of *sequi* + *dat.*, cf. Blaise, *Dict.*, s.v. (1); Heraeus, *GGA* (1915), p.482, D. Norberg, *Syntaktische Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des Spätlateins und des frühen Mittellateins*, Uppsala 1934 (repr. Hildesheim 1990), pp.146-7.

Presumably this *epitome* was written in a very simple style, probably κοινή, just as in popular stories.<sup>40</sup> The almost total elimination of sexuality

<sup>40</sup> Cf. 40, RA 11 where we find *naviculas* beside *naves*: as in the Greek of the N.T. πλοιάριον ‘small vessel’ and πλοῖον ‘ship’ can be interchangeable, cf. Bauer, *Wörterb.*, s.v. πλοιάριον. As for the many conspicuous *deminutiva* in *HA*, cf. Ind. gramm., s.v. *deminutiva*. A specific task for a future commentary would seem to be to compare language, style, vocabulary, formulation, etc. of **R(Gr)** – even in a hypothetical form – with that of popular writings such as Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* (ed. G. Bartelink, *La storia Lausiaca* [da] *Palladio*, Milano 1975<sup>2</sup>) and the *Vitae Patrum* (PL 73,74), also in their primitive Greek form.

(Schmeling [1984], p.V: ‘castitas illa incredibilis ac paene absurda eorum, qui primas partes agunt’) and an almost schoolmasterish emphasis on scholastic activities (c.29) must be laid at the door of **R(Gr)**. Add to this a number of rather silly errors and clumsy formulations. The most striking example of this simplism is probably 6, RA 17 *Atque ita* (from [?] καὶ οὕτως ‘and nevertheless’), which eliminates a far-reaching astrological motivation. But these interventions, drastic as they are, do not stand alone. Here we must tackle the thorny problem of the social position of Apollonius and his role in the original **HA(Gr)**. Was he really king of Tyre or did he belong to the upper class and did the intermediate **R(Gr)** foist the kingship upon him? Various indications lead us to the thesis that this is indeed the case.

### 2.1. *The notion of rex*

The notion of *rex* is relatively rare in the Latin *HA*, cf. Ind. verb., s.v. Moreover the notion has been only superficially integrated into the context. This explains why a hyper-critical approach such as that of Klebs consistently wishes to eliminate the title of *rex*, cf. Klebs, p.197, n.5: ‘*Regis*’ ist wie öfter in RA hinzu interpoliert’. (See also pp.223, 340.) This ultimately led him (cf. supra n.15) to his title *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus*. Although this conclusion is unacceptable to us, the rarity of the term *rex* cannot be denied.

Even in places where one would expect *rex*, it fails to occur. On his first appearance Apollonius is introduced as (4, RA 1) *quidam adulescens locuples valde*, which RB 2 supplements with *patriae suae princeps*.

In Greek pagan literature a *rex Tyri* (c.q. βασιλεὺς Τύρου ‘King of Tyre’) is certainly not very prominent. On the contrary, from republican times Tyre had been thought of as free and autonomous, cf. Strabo 16.2.23 ἐκρίθησαν αὐτόνομοι ‘The Tyrians were adjudged autonomous’. Compare also J. Colin, *Les villes libres de l’Orient gréco-romain et l’envoi au supplice par acclamations populaires* (Collection Latomus, vol. 82), Bruxelles-Berchem 1965, Index général, s.v. Tyr.

### 2.2. *Xenophon of Ephesus*

In the work of Xenophon of Ephesus, the example for **HA(Gr)** (cf. Introd. IV.2.3.), and Chariton the principal personages also belong to the upper class, the high society, cf. C. Ruiz-Montero, ‘La estructura de la Historia Apollonii regis Tyri’, *CFC* (1983-84), pp.292-334, esp. p.330. All this leads us to surmise that the term *rex*/βασιλεὺς is strictly

speaking an alien element in the **HA(Gr)**. We think that this term was introduced by **R(Gr)** in imitation of the Old Testament. There the term *rex Tyri* (βασιλεὺς Τύρου) occurs nine times (*cf.* Concordance, *s.v.* *rex*), especially with reference to Hiram/Εὔρωμος in his contact with Solomon, king of Jerusalem, *cf.* 1 *Reg.* 5; 3 *Reg.* 5,1-12.

### 2.3 *The role of Flavius Josephus*

Flavius Josephus – no doubt on analogy of the famous Old Testament riddle contest between the queen of Sheba and Solomon, *cf.* 1 *Reg.* 10 – even tells of a historic riddle contest between the two kings, *cf.* Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.* VIII, 148.149 (*ed.* H.St.J. Thackeray and R. Marcus, *Josephus V, Jewish Antiquities, Books V-VIII*, London-Cambridge [LCL] 1934 (repr. 1935, 1950) τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι φασὶ πρὸς Εἵρωμον αἰνίγματα καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιούντα, τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρίναι τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν. ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἵρωμον καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λύσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλῶσαι· εἶτα δι’ Ἀβδήμονά τινα Τύριον ἄνδρα τὰ προτεθέντα λύσαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαλεῖν, ἃ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολομῶνα πολλὰ τῷ Εἵρωμῳ προσαποτίσαι χρήματα. ‘And they say that Solomon, who was tyrant of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Eirōmos and asked to receive others from him as well, proposing that he who was unable to interpret them should pay a fine to the one who did solve them. But Eirōmos, having agreed to this, was unable to solve the riddles and paid out large sums of money as a fine. Afterwards through a certain Abdēmon, a Tyrian citizen, he solved the riddles proposed and himself offered others, which Solomon was unable to solve and paid large sums to Eirōmos in return.’ The reality behind this façade of riddles was entirely different. The two kings did indeed test each other in wisdom and intelligence, but in reality it was a struggle about expansion. The one who proved inferior was to pay a fine to the other. Literally he had to retreat and abstain from all expansion of his territory, *cf.* L. Troiani, *Commento Storico all’ “Contro Apione” di Giuseppe*, Pisa 1977, pp.97-101. We are convinced that **R(Gr)** has taken this story as his starting-point in constructing the passage from 41, RA 32 *Si enim parabolarum* (= riddles, *cf.* Lampe, *s.v.* παραβολή [6]) *mearum nodos absolueris* to 42, RA/RB 6 *solve mihi quaestionem et vadam*. That Tharsia here challenges her father to take part in a riddle contest, provided he is really king of Tyre (*cf.* 42, RA/RB 5 *Si ... rex es*), is not problematic. However, Tharsia’s answer that a correct solution will cause her to go away involves difficulties within the context of RA/RB, since Tharsia does not go away. On the contrary, she continues her riddle contest. Since Welser various editors have been eager to eliminate the words

*et vadam*, cf. Riese (1893), ad loc.; Schmeling (1988) even in *RA* (p.42,10), in *RB* (p. 74,22) and in *RC* (p.123,9). We are convinced that the words *et vadam* must be retained. It is merely an infelicitous adaptation of Josephus' story. From the same background (a mistaken dependence on Josephus) we believe we should also explain another *crux interpretum* in close proximity to this one, viz. 42, *RA* 26 *puella inflammata prudentia quaestionum*. Ever since Riese (1893) editors have preferred the *RB* reading *prudentia solutionum*, sc. *Apollonii* (cf. Schmeling, ad loc. p.35,6). Yet *RA* is very plausible. As in the riddle contest between Hiram and Solomon an certain Abdemon came up with ever new riddles, so here Tharsia produces from her arsenal of riddles ever more difficult questions, cf. 42, *RA* 10: she plays her role with full abandon. The real conditions under which the riddle contest between Hiram and Solomon took place were beyond **R(Gr)**'s comprehension. A possible point in his favour might be that despite his simple-mindedness he occasionally shows some traces of being well-read in literature. Josephus' oeuvre was much *en vogue* also in later times, cf. Th. Reinach-L. Blom, *Flavius Josephus, Contre Apion*, Paris "Les Belles Lettres" 1930, p.VI.<sup>41</sup>

To what extent **R(Gr)**, by giving Apollonius his royal title, has also harmed the narrative structure of **HA(Gr)** cannot be ascertained at this stage. Nor can we determine which part of the vocabulary must be assigned to **R(Gr)** or **HA(Gr)**. In general terms it does seem permissible to conclude that the vocabulary points to Asia Minor. Probably this *epitome* was written in circles which stood in close contact with ecclesiastical circles.<sup>42</sup> The epitomator's role is not very elevating and in some respects even superficial. With this conclusion concerning the intermediate form **R(Gr)** now we can proceed to the central discussion relating to the original form of **HA(Gr)**.

<sup>41</sup> In theory it could be assumed that the mistake should be laid at the door of the Latin *RA*, independently of **R(Gr)**. One might refer to the Latin Josephus translation, the so-called *Josephus Latinus* (ed. Fr. Blatt, *The Latin Josephus*, Aarhus-København 1958). However, this translation was made on the instigation of Cassiodorus in the first half of the 6th century in Bruttium (Southern-Italy), cf. E. Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ*, vol. I. Edinburg 1973<sup>2</sup> (repr. 1987), p.58. This date is approximately fifty to a hundred years too late for *HA* (*RA* as well as *RB*). Incidentally, the Josephus fragment in question is absent from the *Josephus Latinus* as we have it now.

<sup>42</sup> The late date on the Greek side, tending to the early Byzantine period, eventually also leads to a late date for *RA* (s.V<sup>EX</sup>) and *RB* (probably VI<sup>IN</sup>), see Introd. VII.1. and 2.

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## CHAPTER SIX

### THE ORIGINAL GREEK TEXT *HA(Gr)*

This chapter is extremely complex and hypothetical. Yet we believe we can arrive at more or less definite conclusions. For a maximum precision in the discussion and a well-structured presentation of the evidence we have subdivided this chapter into four sections:

- Contents
- Localisation in *Asia Minor*
- Language and style
- Date, including external arguments:
  - Enigma of Pergamum
  - Coin of Caracalla.

Each one of these topics could be discussed at some length, but we have limited ourselves as much as possible.

#### 1. CONTENTS

The epitomator has wielded, as far as we can see, his pruning-knife especially on three points:

- Apollonius' original position in Tyre, his family relations and his possible claim to the throne of Antioch.
- The impact of astrology and *fatum* on human activity, as well as the role of pagan cultic rituals relating to the right of asylum and the veneration of ancestors.
- Mutual relations between people, from high to low, relating to requesting and receiving help in difficult situations and, on the other hand, faithfulness to a word once given.

Although it is difficult to reintroduce these elements into the skeleton framework of our present story, especially in the form in which *RA* transmits it, amply sufficient data remain to enable us to reconstruct the original contours and to point to *Asia Minor* as the place of origin of the novel. We shall now comment briefly on each of these points:

- The position of Apollonius in **HA(Gr)** is one of the most intriguing problems relating to the *HA* as we now have it.<sup>43</sup> It is our firm conviction that there is a strict parallel between Οἰνόμαος (Oenomaos), king of Elis, who

lived in incest with his only daughter Ἰπποδάμεια on the one hand, and Antiochus in incest with his only daughter on the other. Both narratives feature a father and an only child; a mother is never even mentioned. In both narratives suitors come from all sides; these are kept off by fraudulent chariot races on the one hand, with neck-riddles on the other. In both situations suitors are beheaded; their heads are hung on the battlements of the palace walls or the city gates (*cf.* 3, RA 8 app. fontium). In both cases Zeus casts his thunderbolt in vengeance. Oenomaos' palace is destroyed by Zeus' thunderbolt, *cf.* Paus. 5,20,6 (in a description of the region) κεραυνώσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἡφάνισεν οἰκίαν τὸ πῦρ, ὑπελίπετο δὲ τὸν κίονα ἐξ ἀπάσης μόνον 'the God (namely Zeus) having struck with his thunderbolts, the lightning destroyed the whole palace (of Oenomaos); only this pillar remained erect from the whole building'. In the *HA* Antiochus and his daughter perish in the same way, *cf.* 24, RA 13 *Dei fulmine percussus est*. This parallel must have permeated the entire **HA(Gr)**. Apollonius' social position, his youth (*cf.* 4, RA 1), his education (*cf.* 48, RA 25/26), his suing for the hand of Antiochus' daughter despite the deterrent sanction inflicted on previous suitors, but also Apollonius' claim to the throne of Antioch (*cf.* 24, RA 18 *devotum regnum*)<sup>44</sup>, if necessary even after a long vacancy (*cf.* 50, RB 11 *regnum reservatum*), and the death of Antiochus through God's thunderbolt (RB 10 omits the typical *Dei*) can only be understood from the perspective of this Oenomaos-Hippodameia story. Even seemingly negligible details, such as Apollonius' consultation of the debates of all the Chaldaeans (6, RA 12 ) appear to fit beautifully within the structure of the presumed original story. It is indeed true that the Chaldaeans took a special interest in problems around the appointment, succession, inauguration and regnal programme of future princes, *cf.* Plut., *Artox.* ch.3. This supposi-

<sup>43</sup> Ever since Rohde (1876; repr. 1975<sup>5</sup>), p.447 many scholars have doubted the authenticity of these initial chapters and of the chapters which mention king Antiochus. They tended to think that this character and the chapters dealing with him were added only to motivate and justify Apollonius' travels, *cf.* 24, RA 13/RB 10; *ibid.* RA 18/RB 15; 50, RA 1/RB 1-2. We may refer to scholars such as Schanz-Hosius-Krüger (1971), pp.87-92, p.350; Perry (1967), pp.300, 323-24. Recent literary histories and studies of the *HA* and related subjects do not make heavy of this problem, or do not even mention it, *cf.* Kytzler (1997), pp.480-83. Schmeling does not deal with this problem either in his edition (1984) or in his 'Notes' (1994). Yet we can not afford to ignore the objections raised by Rohde *c.s.* in view of the inorganic structure of the *HA* in its present form. The lack of motivation can, however, not be laid at the door of **HA(Gr)**, but is due to the epitome character which **R(Gr)** introduced.

<sup>44</sup> The Glossaria (*cf.* CGL VI,1 p.337) give as a translation of *devoneo* ἀνατίθημι 'entrust' (the present tense form). From the perf. pass. ἀνάκειμαι a term such as ἡ ἀνάκειμένη βασιλεία **R(Gr)** could be convincingly argued, *cf.* LSJ, *s.v.* ἀνάκειμαι (2): 'to be offered'.

tion (which, so far as we know, has not been put forward by earlier scholars) is the more probable since the myth in question is an extremely well-known one, cf. W.H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Bnd III, Leipzig 1897-1902, Sp. 764-84; K. Kerényi, *Die Heroen der Griechen*, Darmstadt 1959, pp.73-9; *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, VII.1, Zürich-München 1994, pp.19-23. Moreover, the winning suitor Pelops, who was eventually to marry Hippodameia, came from Asia Minor, which made the borrowing all the more attractive. It is especially the intervention of **R(Gr)**, who – using biblical as well as other examples – gave Apollonius the title of βασιλεὺς Τύρου (*rex Tyri*), which has caused this parallel to be lost.

This theory with respect to Apollonius ~ Antiochus has direct consequences for the historicity of Antiochus and the relation between Antiochus and Apollonius. In the early chapters of the *HA* (1, RA/RB 1) Antiochus is said to be *rex ... Antiochus, a quo ipsa civitas nomen accepit Antiochia* 'there was a king ... Antiochus. Indeed, from him the city derives its name' (Sandy). Following Rohde (1974<sup>5</sup>, p.449 n.1) editors and critics<sup>45</sup> have identified this king with Antiochus I (324-262 BC). Antiochus I is the subject of a famous romantic story which is known in Greek (cf. Lucian., *De dea Syria* c.17 sqq.) as well as in Latin literature (cf. Valer. Max. 5,7,1).<sup>46</sup> This Antiochus, nicknamed the Great, is said to have fallen in love as a young man with his stepmother Stratonice, the youthful second wife of Seleucus (312-280 BC). The story tells that a physician diagnosed the cause of Antiochus' suffering from the young man's accelerated pulse; his father had not noticed that his son was in love. The father then magnanimously gave his wife up to his son. This story, it is argued, played a part in the origin, date and content of the *HA*.<sup>47</sup> However, we believe that this relation cannot be upheld. The parallel seems to us quite far-fetched and, in view of Apollonius' position as was argued above, extremely improbable. The suggestion that in the **HA(Gr)** the relation with Antiochus I was further elaborated must in our view be rejected. It seems more probable that the original author used the name Antiochus in his narrative without any reference to historical fact: the name Antiochus was frequent among the Seleucids.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Riese [1893], Praef. p.XVIII; Schmeling [1984] Praef. p.XXI; among critics especially Teuffel [1913<sup>6</sup>], § 489.

<sup>46</sup> For the wider context see A.B. Breebaart, 'King Seleucus I, Antiochus and Stratonice', *Mnemosyne* 20 (1967), pp.154-64. The article does not deal with the *HA*.

<sup>47</sup> As with Antiochus, so also in the *HA* (cf. c.26) a physician played the decisive role. In both stories the physician diagnosed the illness from the patient's pulse (cf. c.26, RA 29/RB 25). In both stories the father was at first entirely ignorant of the love developing in his child, cf. *HA* c.16-22. Here, too, the father complies with his daughter's request, cf. *HA* c.22.



Their lack of moral standards, especially in family matters, was notorious.<sup>48</sup> The relation between Antiochia and Antiochus is based only on a popular etymology, and serves only to give the novel a starting-point. The Oenomaos-Pelops parallel is also relevant to the relation between Antiochus and Apollonius. Especially *RB* appears to assume a relationship between brothers, cf. 4, RA 8/*RB* 11, where Antiochus says *Quaero fratrem meum* and 48, *RB* 25, where Apollonius refers to Antiochus' kingdom as *patrium regnum* (RA 32 only *regnum*). Several scholars have accepted this supposed family relationship. In our view the possibility that in the version of RA/**HA(Gr)** Apollonius had no family relation at all to Antiochus cannot be ruled out. As a suitor of high rank and after accepting the marriage conditions (4, RA 7/*RB* 9) success would automatically give him, like Pelops before him, a claim to the throne. A family relationship was not required. It is clear that **R(Gr)**, by obscuring the Oenomaos ~ Pelops parallel and by his defective information on the relationship between Antiochus and Apollonius, has caused serious harm to the narrative structure of **HA(Gr)**.

- The intervention of this epitomator has also led to the complete loss from the story of the impact of astrology and *fatum* on human activity, as well as the role of pagan cultic rituals relating to the right of asylum and the veneration of ancestors. A first step towards an explanation of the astrological elements would be the notion of κατοχή/κάτοχος in connection with the right of asylum.<sup>49</sup> Both Apollonius' wife Archistratis and Apollonius himself seek safety from the threatening *fatum* in an asylum, in the temple of Artemis in Ephesus and in Egypt respectively. Apollonius' stay in Egypt (28, RA 18; 37, RA 2) is also very probably connected with the fact that he sought and found asylum in a sanctuary there, for instance in the Fayoum delta. His appearance as a κάτοχος 'possessed (by the Divinity)' with long hair, beard and nails (cf. 37, RA 11-12) can hardly have assisted him in his activity as a corn merchant, as the naive **R(Gr)** would have us believe! We can only guess at the cult of the *Manes*, although now and then the original vocabulary of **HA(Gr)** can still be heard (cf. 30, RA 8-9 app. font.).
- The third point, relating to mutual relations and the breaking of a once given word, has been totally eliminated. Probably this includes Apollonius entrusting his daughter to the fosterparents Stranguillio

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Der neue Pauly, Bnd 11 (Stuttgart 2001), pp.358-9.

<sup>49</sup> G.A.A. Kortekaas, 'The *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* and Ancient Astrology. A possible link between Apollonius and κατοχή', *ZPE*, vol. 85 (1991), pp.71-85. For Apollonius' stay in Egypt, cf. G. Lefebvre, 'Ἰερὰ ἄσυλα du Fayoum, Le droit d'asile dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque', *Annales Antiq. Égypte* 19 (1919), pp.38-62; L. Robert, 'III. Hiérocésarée', *Hellenica* VI (1948), pp.27-55, esp. pp.36-37.

and Dionysias and the citizens of Tarsus, since both these parties are punished with exceptional severity. Stoning (*cf.* 50 RA 27/RB 23) is a punishment particularly for traitors, people who have, as happens here, broken a once given word, *cf.* J.L. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea. The poetical fragments and the Ἐρωτικά Παθήματα*, Oxford 1999, p.464. The citizens of Tarsus are threatened by severe punishment, presumably because they have violated the *ius hospitii*, *cf.* 45, RA 6 *Pereat haec civitas*. (Compare the punishment threatening the citizens of Mytilene, *cf.* 46, RA/RB 4-7.) We can only guess at the outcome.<sup>50</sup> We suspect that the final lacuna in *RA* has led to the loss of this very aspect.

Our discussion of points can only lead us to the conclusion that the intervention by the *epitomator*, however charming the result may seem *a prima vista*, has been in fact disastrous for **HA(Gr)**.

## 2. LOCALISATION IN ASIA MINOR

With respect to the localisation of **HA(Gr)** we can say with a high degree of certainty that *Asia Minor* can be identified as its place of origin. Note the following points of interest:

10, RA 10

(*exhilarati*) *facti adclamationibus* (*gratias agebant*) ~ RB 8 *faustis adclamationibus* (*cf.* Vulg., 1 *Macch.* 5,64 *fausta adclamantes*): the *adclamationes* in *RA* are probably a faithful rendering of ἐκβοήσεις or rather of the synonymous ἐπιβοήσεις, *cf.* LSJ, *s.v.* ἐπιβόησις (2): 'shouting'; J. Colin, *Les villes libres de l'Orient gréco-romain et l'envoi au supplice par acclamations populaires* (Collection Latomus, vol. 82), Bruxelles-Berchem 1965. The actual content of the citizens' cries appears from 50, RA 7 *Te regem, te patrem patriae et diximus et in perpetuum dicimus*, in other words, Apollonius was acclaimed with such cries as πατήρ πατρίδος αἰώνιος. This πατήρ τῆς πατρίδος (*c.q.* πόλεως) in **HA(Gr)** corresponds both to the inscription 'Π Π' on coins of Caracalla (Ziegler, 'Münzen Kilikiens' [1977], p.34) and to the con-

<sup>50</sup> Perhaps we may compare the murder of the Ionian Aetholos by an inhabitant of the town of Isindos (a small Ionian town on the border of Pisidia and Caria): not only the murderer, but all Isindians are denied access to the religious festivals of *Panionia*, *cf.* Ovid., *In Ibin* 621 (with the commentary of J. André, *Ovide contre Ibis*, Paris "Les Belles Lettres", 1963, p.57 n.7.)

- ditions for the award of such a title (especially when a town is newly built or rebuilt) outlined by C.M. Roueché, 'A New Inscription from Aphrodisias and the Τίτλι πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως' in *GRBS* 20,2 (1979), pp.173-85; *id.*, 'Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire; New Evidence from Aphrodisias,' *JRS* 74 (1984), pp.181-99. At 10, RB 8 as well as 50, RB 8 *Te regem, te patriae patrem diximus*, by eliminating *dicimus* (RA 8), RB shows that he did not understand the expression correctly. The change from *facti* to *faustis* (RB) is of a purely literary character.
- 19, RA 2 *iuvenes scholastici III* ~ RB 2 *iuvenes nobilissimi tres*: the term σχολαστικός, not unknown on the Roman side (*cf.* OLD, *s.v.* scholasticus) was quite frequent in Asia Minor, *cf.* LSJ, *s.v.* σχολαστικός (1); H. Grégoire, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* I, Paris 1922, no.264,270; *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* (abbreviated *MAMA*) VIII, no.427.
- 25, RA 28 *ornat*, *cf.* 26, RA 6: probably an exact rendering of κοσμεῖν, *t.t.* for the adornment of dead bodies, *cf.* L. Robert, *Hellenica* VIII (1965), p.31: 'speciale au Centre de l'Asie Mineure.' In latin *ornare* in the sense of 'lay out' is very rare, *cf.* ThLL IX<sup>II</sup> 1026 7-8. RB (21) *decoratam* eliminates the characteristic formulation, *cf.* 26, RB 6.
- 26, RA/RB 4: *medicus* – *famuli sui*; the physician (ἰατρός) had a swarm of students around him with the technical appellation ὑπουργός 'assistant', ὑπηρέτης, διάκονος, *cf.* L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1980, p.419.
- 26, RA 14-15 *ultimus suorum decimat nec sit qui corpus suum sepulturae commendat*: the most striking combination of these two curses is found in *MAMA* VIII, no.570 ἐξώλη ἀπόλοιτο σὺν τέκνοις καὶ παντὶ τῷ γένει 'May he perish with his children and all his descendants' combined with ταφῆς μὴ τύχοι 'May he not find a sepulture', *cf.* G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* I, Bonn 1982, no.422. For a wider context see J.H.M. Strubbe, 'Vervloeking en grafschenners', *Lampas* 16,5 (1983), pp.248-74. The curse is usually formulated in the third person, not the second, as in RB.

29, RA 25-26

*Cives ... liberabunt te ~ RB 28-29 cives iniuriam tuam vindicabunt.* The right of asylum belonging to a *statua principis* was operative especially in Asia Minor, cf. G.C. Belloni, 'Asylia e santuari greci dell' Asia Minore al tempo di Tiberio', in M. Sordi (Hrsg.), *I santuari e la guerra nel mondo classico*, 1984, pp.164-80; P. Hermann, 'Rom und die Asylie griechischer Heiligtümer', *Chiron* 19 (1989), pp.127-64.

30, RA 8-9

*manes parentum suorum invocabat ~ RB casus suos omnes exponeret et fleret.* Perhaps *Manes* goes back to the name of the Anatolian god Μῆν/Μεῖς, cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 101 (1977), p.48 (nn.20,22): *id.*, *CRAI* 1978, p.243; Strubbe, *Lampas* 16, no.5 (1983), p.268. The change to the Roman *Manes* might then be relatively slight. *RB* has a vacuous phrase instead, cf. 31, RA 29 ~ 31, RB 17-18.

31, RA 18

*Sin alias, sentias esse contra te iratos dominum et dominam ~ RB 12 Sin alias, sentias me iratam.* Although the expression *iratos habere* is certainly not without parallels in Latin (cf. ThLL VII II.1 374 50-6), the formula shows a remarkable correspondence to Greek formulas such as τυγχάνειν/ἔχειν τοὺς θεοὺς κεχολωμένους 'to have the gods wrathful', found in tombs especially in Phrygia, cf. J.H.M. Strubbe, Ἄρραι ἐπιτύμβιοι. *Imprecations against Desecrators of the Grave in the Greek Epitaphs of Asia Minor*. A catalogue, Bonn 1997, e.g. (p.296, n.66) ἔξει τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κεχολωμένον καὶ τὴν κυρίαν Ἀναειτὴν 'He will have the wrath of Apollo and of Mistress Anaitin (the Persian name of Artemis) or (*ibid.*, no.126) θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων κεχολωμένων τύχοιτο 'may he find gods and mankind in wrath'; *id.*, *Lampas* 16, no.5 (1983), pp.248-74.

32, RA 42-43

*"Deus, tu scis quia purus sum a sanguine Tharsiae et requiras et vindices illam in Dionysia" ~ RB /.* An outburst of great cultural-historical interest by Stranguillio against his wife Dionysias. The last three words are of special interest here, since these are found in exactly the same form on the tombs of persons who died a premature violent death, as Stranguillio believes it to be the case here with Tharsia, cf. G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus, Papyrus Upsaliensis* 8, Uppsala 1938, p.29,

no.12 (from Rhenaia [one of the Cyclades], 2nd century BC): ἵνα ἐκδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ ζητήσῃς (i.q. ζητήσῃς) τὴν ταχίστην ‘that you might avenge the innocent blood and go in search (for the murderer) the quickest possible’. As can be seen here, ζητεῖν/ἐπιζητεῖν corresponds to *requirere* and *vindicare* to ἐκδικεῖν.

33, RA 5/RB 4-5

*princeps eiusdem civitatis* ~ RB *princeps civitātis eiusdem* (pl.): a title which the HA gives by preference to Athenagoras, presumably in his capacity of ἄρχων of Mitylene, cf. 34, RA 15 *collega suus*. The corresponding Greek form is, of course, subjective: ? (ὁ) πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως, cf. LSJ, s.v. πρότερος (B). This title was used especially in Asia Minor, cf. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, l.l., esp. pp.244-5. It also corresponds to the Greek novel, cf. *Less.*, s.v. πρότερος, II πρῶτος (2). Riese (1892), Index s.v. *princeps*, pointed to Xen. Eph., 1,1,1 ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα ἐκεῖ δυναμένων ‘a man, among the most influential citizens of Ephesus’. The phrase is also used by other novel-writers: Charit. 4,4,3 ἀνδρὸς πλουσίου καὶ πρωτεύοντος ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ‘a rich man and preeminent in Ionia’; Heliod. 8,3,4 ὁ Θύαμις ... τὰ πρῶτα τῆς πόλεως ... φερόμενος ‘Thyamis ... a person of some consequence in the city’.

Many minor or seemingly minor details supporting the thesis proposed here that our novel originates from Asia Minor ought to be discussed in a commentary. By now it will have become clear that such an origin cannot reasonably be doubted.

### 3. LANGUAGE AND STYLE

Although the language and style of **HA(Gr)** have been filtered through a Greek Christian epitome **R(Gr)**, there are nevertheless sufficient weighty *indicia* for dating **HA(Gr)** according to these criteria to the middle of the third century A.D. The weightiest argument is the great similarity in structure, vocabulary and *realia* to the Greek novel. Unfortunately there are many uncertainties as to the date and the *oeuvre* of the various novelists. In this study we have made the following assumptions: 1) Chariton 1st century; 2) Xenophon of Ephesus 2nd century; 3) Achilles Tatius late 2nd century; 4) Longus 3rd century; 5) Heliodorus 3rd-4th century. It would take

us too far to make an exhaustive critical study of the borrowings one way or another between the **HA** and the various novelists, the more so since we often have to do with τόποι/*loci communes*. Most of the time we shall need to rely on numbers of similarities, cf. Index 3. Auctores Graeci. Then it will appear that the **HA(GR)** is closest to Xen. of Ephesus, as Riese (1893), Praef. XVI already emphasised, cf. *supra* Introd. IV.2.3. The rich comparative material collected by Riese (1893), p.XVI n.4 and the Index, p.117-31, has been gratefully used in the present edition. Add to this that especially Achill. Tatius contributes *realia* which lead us to a date in the mid-third century A.D. The relative values of *aerei* and *aurei* are roughly parallel to those of χαλκοῖ and χρυσοῖ in Achill. Tat., as a commentary can easily demonstrate.<sup>51</sup> Possibly some of the original elevated diction of the **HA(GR)** may have been preserved in:

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| 1, RA 15/RB 14 | <i>nodum virginitatis</i> , cf. ἄμμα παρθενίας ‘hymen’  |
| 2, RA 4        | <i>duo nobilia nomina</i> (sc. ‘father’ and ‘daughter’),<br>cf. Heliod. 4,10,3 τὸ παρθενίας ὄνομα σεμνότατον<br>‘the august name of virginity’  |
| 13, RA/RB 6-7  | <i>utitur liquore P&lt;alladi&gt;o</i> (sc. oleo) ~ Marc. Sid.<br>(doctor, II A.D.) Παλλάδιον ἔλαιον ‘oil of Pallas’,<br>cf. LSJ (Suppl.), s.v. Παλλάδιος (ThLL VII <sup>II</sup> 2<br>1494,24 no parallels)  |
| 28, RA 5/RB 6  | <i>sanctissimi hospites</i> : a <i>iunctura</i> which is extremely<br>rare in Latin literature, but very usual in Greek<br>writers, especially the tragedians. Perhaps it goes<br>back to (?) ξένοι ὀσιώτατοι (whereas they were in<br>fact ἄνοσιώτατοι). |

Furthermore, the **HA(GR)** must have known a well-marked division into episodes, e.g. in the phases of Apollonius’ life, each time separated by a storm at sea: a happy childhood (ch. 48, his own confession), an unsuccessful proposal of marriage – a first catastrophe at sea (ch. 11) – then a happier period with a marriage in Cyrene (the name of *Apollonia* in the *Pentapolis* may well have suggested this) and prospects of acceding to the throne of Antioch; then another catastrophe at sea (ch. 24) causing separation of the three members of the family, a disastrous period; this period is concluded by yet another shipwreck (dismissed in a single sentence, ch.39), after which the family can be reunited and the virtuous and the wicked rewarded or punished. Recourse to the ἀσυλία (right of sanctuary) is also represented in a tripartite form: Tharsia at the em-

<sup>51</sup> On the other hand the references to Heliodorus (s. III/IV AD) are not very important in content, cf. Ind. Auctorum Graecorum, s.v. Heliod.

peror's statue (ch.29); Archistratis in the temple of Ephesus (ch.27); Apollonius in Egypt (ch.28). For a similar tripartite design in the Greek novel, cf. A. Billault, *La création romanesque dans la littérature grecque à l'époque impériale*, PUF Paris 1991, pp.49-50. The various characters must also have been sharply marked with such contrasts as between king Antiochus (with his *fatum*) and the younger Apollonius (with *his own fatum*); the nurse at Antiochus' court is contrasted with the faithful Lycoris; the wicked Dionysias with her Στραγγυλίων, not always very clever.

In how far similes or ἐκφράσεις also graced the original story<sup>52</sup> – the subject-matter offered ample opportunities, e.g. on the subject of Tyre<sup>53</sup>, Mytilene, the temple of Artemis in Ephesus – can only be a matter for speculation.

The fact that Archistratis, contrary to all Greek customs, appears in a συμπόσιον 'drinking-party' (ch. 15-16) shows that **HA(Gr)** must have been open to exotic atmosphere and manners, cf. the characteristic story in Herod. 5,18,2 (cited together with other instances by Lightfoot, o.c., p.416).<sup>54</sup> Likewise the free choice of a girl concerning marriage and a prospective husband (HA ch.23) – unique in the Greek view – must have given the *HA* a certain preferred position in the Greek novel, especially when compared with what happened between Antiochus and his daughter (ch. 1-3). For the same reason the fact that women (even a slave!) enjoy schooling at a youthful age (cf. 29, RA/RB 1) must have made **HA(Gr)** remarkable. Possibly in this context *quinquennis* may be very early indeed, but in view of the narrative structure the motif itself – women receiving schooling – must be considered authentic, cf. *Introd.* VIII.1.7.

Finally we should mention the homage, almost in passing, to the great predecessors Chariton and Achill. Tat. in 48, RA 21-22/RB 15-16 *splendor pulchritudinis emanabat*, cf. the name of Chariton's chief heroine Καλλιρόη

<sup>52</sup> B. Kytzler, in his essay *Xenophon of Ephesus* (pp. 336-60) (in Schmeling, *The Novel* (1996)) gives (p. 350) some counts of similes in Greek novelists: Heliodorus 120, Achill. Tat. 110, Longus 107, Charit. 49, Xen. of Ephesus 4. Of course the number of similes is also dependent on the length of the work.

<sup>53</sup> Famous for the patronage of Heracles, the production of purple, its wine, its courtesans.

<sup>54</sup> A similar exotic strain is suggested by the names of Archistrates and its feminine pendant Archistratis, conjectured by us; for Ἀρχιστράτης ~ Ἀρχιστράτις, cf. A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre*, Heidelberg 1917, §§ 381.384. This combination of names (cf. *Ind. nom.*, ss.vv.) appears to have no strict correspondences either in Latin or in Greek, cf. P.M. Fraser~E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, I-III B, Oxford 1987-2000 (cited in full, *Introd.* V.1). The feminine form occurs in several variants: Ἀρχιστράτη (*ibid.* I); Ἀρχεστράτη (*ibid.* I, II); Ἀρχεστρατά (*ibid.* III<sup>A</sup>). The most direct parallel, however, seems to be Στράτης (masc.) ~ Στράτις (fem.) (*ibid.* I). It is highly remarkable that both these names come from the Cyrenaica. Has the author of **HA(Gr)** purposely taken these names from that area?



(‘Lady Lovely Stream’, G.P. Goold) and Achill. Tat. 1,4,4 ἡ τοῦ κάλλους ἀπορροή. The verb ἀπορρέω ‘flow off’ is given the standard translation *emano* (cf. CGL VII,466), and similarly ἀπορροή is rendered *emanatio*.

#### 4. DATE

To assign a precise date to **HA(Gr)** is a rather hazardous enterprise. However, the student is assisted by some internal evidence as well as two external clues.

##### 4.1. *Internal arguments*

As for the internal evidence, we have already encountered a few clues that can help us with (some authors of) the Greek novel, especially Xenophon of Ephesus and Achilles Tatius, cf. *supra* § 3. There we also noted the use of χαλκοῖ and χρυσοῖ and the mistranslation of 11, RA 10 *clipeus* probably going back to (τὸ) ὄπλον ‘shield’. Moreover, in the **HA(Lat)** we can find another clue, possibly derived from **HA(Gr)**. In 34, RA/RB 21-23 it is stated that 40 *aurei* (χρυσοῖ) are just under a pound of gold in value. Several famous numismatists have dealt with a sliding scale of coins.<sup>55</sup> The statement in *HA* points to a time later than Trajan – Marcus Aurelius (44 *aurei*) and later than Commodus – Septimius Severus (44/45 *aurei*). During the reign of Caracalla (211-217) 50 *aurei* were for the first time struck from one pound of gold. Strictly speaking this argument is not very strong: it does not yield a precise date. As a matter of fact scholars have been eager to find other, external, evidence. The first of these external clues is the so-called ‘Enigma of Pergamum’.

##### 4.2. *External arguments*

###### 4.2.1. *The riddle of Pergamon*

Localisation: Pergamum, in the so-called Agora depot.

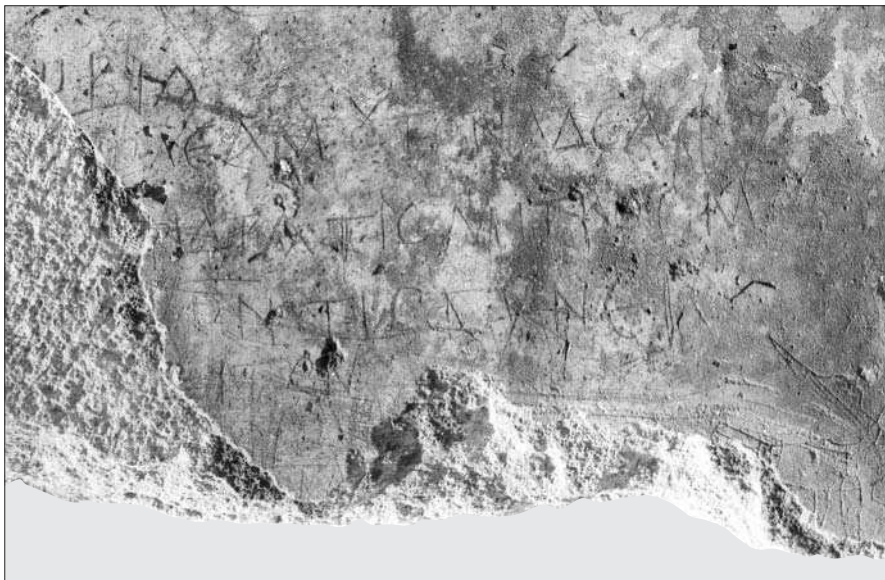
This is a block of trachyte, 34.6” (88 cm) wide, 23.8” (72 cm) high, 10.2” (26 cm) deep. It was found by Professor H. Hepding during his excavations in Pergamum (1908-14); see his report in *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) ‘Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon’ (esp. pp.488-9), and was later connected with the *HA* in *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 12 (1913), pp.161-82 (esp. pp.179ff.).

<sup>55</sup> Duncan-Jones (1974), p.217; Callu (1980), pp.187-212; Ziegler (1984), nn.6,7.





The first riddle (detail).



Detail: part of the second riddle relevant to the *Historia Apollonii*.

The two photographs above are printed here by courtesy of the “Deutsches Archäologisches Institut”, Athens (nns. Pergamon 1707-1708).

Originally this stone was part of the great abside of a bathhouse situated east of the shrine of Demeter. The stone contains two grafitti, both of them riddles, of which the upper one, in a very regular uncial script, is easily legible. The date of both riddles is very uncertain.<sup>56</sup> The first riddle can be transcribed as follows:

+ Νόημα  
 + Ὑψαλτος ἐπιστολή  
 ἄλλα·λ·ος ὁ ἀποφέρων (= ἀποφέρων)  
 ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἐνόησεν. + (= λαβὼν).

Translation: 'Riddle. An unspoken charge. Wordless the messenger. The receiver however understood the message.' A dove to the right of the riddle makes it clear that the reference is to Noah releasing a dove to explore the terrain and the situation; *cf.* Gen. 8,11. The crosses obviously indicate a Christian origin.

The second, in rather rough lettering and vulgar orthography (s. XII?), is incomplete at beginning and end, the plaster having crumbled away. Prof. H. Maehler (University of London) (*cf.* ed. m., n.623) reads:

ω Β Ι Δ <sup>57</sup>  
 ἄπωλεα μὲν τὸν ἀδελφόν  
 τὸν ἀ]νδρα τις μητρος μὲν  
 4 τὸν υ]ιὸν τις γυνεκ. . .  
 τὸν ζ]ιτὸν  
 ὅχ ε]ύρον  
 ].Α[  
 8 [...].

The transcription (normalised) runs:

ἀπώλε(σ)ά μου τὸν ἀδελφόν· |  
 τὸν ἄ]νδρα τῆς μητρος μου, |  
 τὸν υ]ιὸν τῆς γυναικός μου.  
 τοῦτον] ζητῶν  
 οὐχ εὗ]ρον.  
 ].[  
 [...].

<sup>56</sup> "Zur Zeitstellung des Grafitto läßt sich unsrerseits leider nichts Genaueres sagen als "byzantinisch", ebensowenig zum Rätselanfang OBID" (D. Pinkwart, personal communication).

<sup>57</sup> The significance of these first four characters is very uncertain: A, B, Γ, Δ? (*cf.* ed. m., n.618)



This stone carries the two riddles.

Left centre: the Noah riddle.

Lower half, centre: the Pergamum riddle.

Photo by courtesy of Miss Doris Pinkwart, Deutsche Ausgrabung, Pergamon (29-06-1966), *cf.* ed. m., nn.615,622,623.

Translation: 'I have lost my brother,/ the husband of my mother,/ the son of my wife,/ searching for him / I did not find.'

This lucky find is undoubtedly for the *HA* of a certain, if limited, importance. The second riddle, with which we will occupy ourselves, corresponds fairly precisely to the riddle in the *HA*, as transmitted in *RA*, cf. 4, *RA* 7-10 (*Scelere vehor; maternam carnem vescor*;) *quaero fratrem meum, meae matris virum, uxoris meae filium: non invenio*. Nevertheless, many difficulties present themselves, which seriously hinder a total whole-hearted acceptance:

- The correspondence is not exact; the beginning *Scelere vehor; maternam carnem vescor* is totally lacking. Moreover, an appropriate interpretation appears to be very difficult.
- The enigma in this form is transmitted only in *RA*.
- The inscription itself (more properly a graffito) can be dated only approximately (twelfth century?) and apparently belongs to a totally different sphere of culture (Byzantine?).
- The riddle belongs to a very common class of enigmas, namely kinship riddles: a considerable number of these circulated in the ancient world, cf. ed. m., n.617.

These arguments have made scholars sceptical about the validity of this enigma as evidence of the Greek origin of the *HA*, convinced as they were of a Latin provenance. In order to refute the above objections, we would like to observe the following:

- The opening words of the riddle are indeed enigmatic. Many widely different translations have been proposed. Perhaps we may suggest: 'I am dragged by crime: I eat my mother's flesh'. Riese ([1871, Praef. XII; 1893, Ind. verb., s.v. *vehi scelere*)] surmised that the form *vehor* concealed a change of vowels. This is in fact by no means uncommon in translations. Thus ὀχεύεσθαι '*coitum facere*' ('cover') and ὀχεῖσθαι '*vehi*' ('to be dragged') (cf. LSJ, s.v. ὀρέω [III]), may have been confused.<sup>58</sup> This interpretation would fit Antiochus' behaviour excellently, cf. 'I ride on crime; I feed on mother's flesh' (Sandy. p.470). That such an opening together with the subsequent words has been suppressed in the tradition is quite understandable.

<sup>58</sup> For this confusion, cf. Sv. Lundström, *Übersetzungstechnische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der christlichen Latinität*, Lund 1955, pp.19-27 'Vokalfehler'. In view of the doubtful coherence between the story of Apollonius and the opening chapters with king Antiochus, which many scholars have called in question, we have intentionally exercised restraint in including this place among the direct translation errors, cf. Intro. IV.1.



The Tarsus coin is shown at 200% of its actual size.

Photo taken from the original, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles [Cilicie]. Published with kind permission of the Board of the Bibliothèque Nationale, from E. Levante, *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum, France 2. Cabinet des Médailles, Cilicie*, Paris 1993, no.1509.



- The fact, that the riddle is reported only in *RA* supports the thesis hitherto defended that *RA* is a better representative of the *HA* than is *RB*. The version of *RB* 11-12 ‘*quaero fratrem meum, matris meae filium, uxoris meae virum*’ is to be considered an intentional rewriting. (Strangely enough, Schmeling [1988], p.47,2-4 assigns the riddle to *RB*.)
- The distance in time from the supposed origin of the **HA(Gr)** to the riddle in Pergamum is very large indeed. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that the **HA(Gr)** was, on account of its contents, originally not always and everywhere popular, especially not in Christian circles. (Note in our case the crosses accompanying both riddles as tokens of acceptance.)
- To the best of my knowledge no such striking parallel to the Pergamum riddle has been found in Latin sources, nor have I encountered the Pergamum riddle itself in Latin literature. For apparent parallels, cf. ed. m., nn.617-625.

On the grounds of these arguments I believe that at least the benefit of the doubt ought to be given to the Pergamum riddle. However, an additional argument would be most welcome. It is afforded by the coin of Caracalla, our next argument.

#### 4.2.2. *The coin of Caracalla (Tarsus, A.D. 215)*

Bronze coin (33 mm diameter), reproduced here in much enlarged format. Face value uncertain.<sup>59</sup>

This coin is of eminent importance for **HA(Gr)**; it affords not only a concrete, reliable *indiciū temporis*, but it also explains and illustrates the contents of **HA(Gr)** in a quite unique manner. To begin with, some general information.

The coin was struck, in A.D. 215 or shortly afterwards, on the occasion of the visit of the emperor Caracalla (197-217) to Asia Minor (Tarsus)

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\* For a great deal of information I am indebted to Mr. Andrew Meadows, the Keeper of the Greek Coins, BM London, and especially to Professor R. Ziegler, who at my request sent me in the first instance an offprint of the coin as published in *Chiron* 14 (1984), p.223 no.3, and at a later stage provided me with an abundance of data. In his first articles (1977, 1984) Prof. Ziegler declared himself a supporter of a Latin original (cf. Schmeling [1988], p.VI); however in personal correspondence with the present writer he readily retracts this view. In a hearty, continuous assistance in the realisation of this book he showed himself a perfect champion of the Greek cause.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Es handelt sich um tarsisches Bronzegeld. Das Nominal kennen wir nicht genau. Es könnte sich um ein Tetrassarion (im Wert von 16 χαλκοῖ) oder um ein Pentassarion (im Wert von 20 χαλκοῖ) gehandelt haben.’ Prof. R. Ziegler *per litteras*.

while passing from Antiochia on his campaign against the Parthians, which would ultimately lead to his assassination at Carrhae (April 217). In order to alleviate the famine caused by the contingents of soldiers the emperor ordered corn to be imported from Egypt/Palestine. Through this measure he released the citizens of Tarsus from the obligation of supplying corn for the troops. The coin is represented in several collections in varying alloys and varying qualities (British Museum, Düsseldorf, Paris, Munich).

The obverse of the coin shows the portrait of Caracalla wearing a laurel wreath, facing right. The legend reads (with in parentheses the usual expansions): ΑΥΤ(ΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ) ΚΑΙ(CΑΡ) Μ(ΑΡΚΟC) ΑΥΡ(ΕΛΙΟC) CΕΥΗΡΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CΕΒ(ΑCΤΟC), i.e. Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus, the official designation of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, that is to say, Caracalla. He bears the name of Severus as the eldest son of the emperor Septimius Severus (193-211) and Julia Domna. Note that to the right and to the left of the imperial portrait two Π's are emphatically present, an abbreviation of Π(ατήρ) Π(ατρίδος) 'Father of the Country'.

The reverse is of an even greater importance for **HA(Gr)**. The legend is difficult to read. Presumably: ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΝΗC CΕΥΗ(ΡΙΑΝΗC) ΑΔΡ(ΙΑΝΗC) ΜΗΤΡΟ(ΠΟΛΕΩC) ΤΑΡCΟΥ (= 'Αντωνιανῆς Σευηριανῆς Ἀδριανῆς μητροπόλεως Ταρσοῦ), i.e. 'coin of the metropolis of Tarsus, (with the honorific title of) the Antoninian (named after the emperor Caracalla [197-217]), the Severian (after the emperor Septimius Severus [193-211]), the Hadrian [117-138]'. The characters encircling the male figure are (from the top downwards): Α Μ Κ Γ Β. These alphabetic symbols stand for the standard epithets accompanying Ταρσοῦ, viz. πρώτης, μεγίστης, καλλίστης, τῶν γ' (= τριῶν) ἐπαρχειῶν προκαθεζομένης καὶ β' (= δις) νεωκόρου, i.e. 'the first, the greatest, the most beautiful, president of the three (adjoining) provinces (viz. Cilicia, Isauria, Lycaonia) and twice founder of a temple for the emperor and his family'.<sup>60</sup>

The effigy itself shows Caracalla in boots, dressed in a *paludamentum* (a military cloak fastened with a brooch at the shoulder, the typical garment

<sup>60</sup> For the expansion of these letters, cf. P. Weiß, 'Die Abkürzungen Γ Β und Γ Γ auf den spätkaiserzeitlichen Münzen von Tarsos und Anazarbos,' *Chiron* 9 (1979), pp.545-52. (The customary expansion of Γ Β is γνώμη βουλῆς 'on the advice of the council'.) For the title of (δις/τρὶς) νεωκόρος (τῶν Σεβαστῶν) '(Twice/Thrice) Temple-Warden (of the *Augusti*)' and the rivalry among the cities of Asia Minor (esp. Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum) to obtain this distinction see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* I-II, Princeton 1950, Index p.1646. (Regrettably, no mention has been made of the Tarsian coin in question nor of its inscription, cf. p.685.) Exactly the same enumeration of honorific titles belonging to the various emperors, followed by identical alphabetic symbols, is to be found in an inscription excavated in Tarsus, cf. G. Dagron – D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, Paris 1987, no.30.

of generals and others of high rank) and with a laurel wreath encircling his head. He is represented as Triptolemus,<sup>61</sup> the mythological inventor of corn-growing, searching for his sister Ino. He is standing in a chariot drawn by two heavily stylised serpents. In his raised right hand he carries corns of grain, which like a sower he has taken from a kind of sack which he holds in his left hand. He holds his right foot slightly raised, his left foot is at rest.

The original author of **HA(Gr)** has in my view taken this coin as his starting point. The posture taken by Caracalla/Triptolemus corresponds strikingly with the statue which the citizens of Tarsus erected in honour of Apollonius because he had safeguarded the city from famine by supplying cheap grain, cf. 10, RA 15-16 *in biga in foro stantem, in dextra manu fruges tenentem, sinistro pede modium calcantem* 'Apollonius was standing in a chariot in the forum; in his right hand ears of grain and his left foot trampling upon a bushel'. In conformity with the requirements of his story he has introduced a few slight modifications. The corns of grain are transformed into *fruges*. The resting left foot on the coin was modified into '*modium calcantem*'. The serpents, being incomprehensible pagan elements, were eliminated. Apparently, the citizens of Tarsus, thanks to the generosity of Apollonius, have been able to obtain two bushels of corn for just one coin of this type, cf. 10, RA 8-9 *octo aereis singulos modios*. (Information kindly furnished by Prof. Ziegler.) The representations on the obverse of the coin were also woven into the story of the **HA(Gr)** with great cleverness. The honorific title of Πατήρ Πατρίδος 'Father of the Country' is echoed in the jubilant shouts of the people: 50, RA 7-8 "*Te regem, te patrem patriae et diximus et in perpetuum dicimus*" "We proclaim you to be and affirm you to be the king and saviour of our country for all time". All this makes the coin into an extremely valuable starting-point for the narrative of the *HA*. But at the same time this coin affords a welcome *indicium temporis*, viz. the years immediately following 215.<sup>62</sup>

That the **HA(Gr)** is thus based on coins need not cause surprise. We may refer the reader to the probably contemporaneous Achill. Tat., whose description of Europa on the bull's back (1,1,10-3) can be readily compared with actual coins from Sidon, cf. S. Gaselee, *Achilles Tatius*, London 1917 (rev. edit. 1969, LCL), p.9. Moreover, this numismatic datum from

<sup>61</sup> For the identification of Roman emperors with Triptolemos, cf. A. Alföldi, 'Redeunt Saturnia regna', *Chiron* 9 (1979), pp.552-606, esp. 570 sqq.

<sup>62</sup> See for further information: Ziegler, R. 'Münzen Kilikiens als Zeugnis kaiserlicher Getreidespenden,' *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 27 (1977), pp.29-67; id. 'Die Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri und der Kaiserkult in Tarsus,' *Chiron* 14 (1984), pp.219-34; id. 'Aspekte der Entwicklung tarsischer Kulte in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit' in: H. Blum, B. Faust, P. Pfälzner, A.-M. Wittke, *Brückenland Anatolien? Ursachen, Extensität und Modi des Kulturaustausches zwischen Anatolien und seinen Nachbarn*, [Tübingen] Attempto Verlag, 2002, pp.363-79.



the time of Caracalla corresponds to the sliding scale of coin values in 34, RA/RB 21-23, where 40 *aurei* (= χρυσοὶ) are just under a pound of gold in value. This means that **HA(Gr)** can be dated to the early 3rd century.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> The destruction of the *Artemisium* in Ephesus in 267 (cf. *Hellenica* V, pp.117-22) does not afford a usable *terminus* in the discussion on the date of the *HA* (cf. 48, RA 5 *templum Dianae*): on the one hand the destruction took place after the composition of **HA(Gr)**, on the other hand as an epitome **R(Gr)** did not need to refer to this detail.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### A FINAL JUDGMENT ON *RA* AND *RB*

It is only now, after we have determined **R(Gr)** and **HA(Gr)**, that we are to any extent able to draw conclusions as to the person and date of the two translators/adapters, **RA** and **RB**. In our view their translating technique bears some resemblance to that of the translators of the *Vitae Patrum*, viz. either retention of the Greek word, followed by a translation, or the reverse, e.g.:

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 17, RA 20 | <i>unam zaetam</i> (gr. δῖαιτα ‘dwelling, abode’),<br>followed by 17, RA 21 <i>accepta mansione</i> |
| 12, RA 8  | <i>sago sordido</i> , followed by 12, RA 19 <i>tribunarium</i><br>(τριβωνάριον). <sup>64</sup>      |

#### 1. RECENSION *A*

**RA** can be said to have translated **R(Gr)** faithfully, adapting it slightly. He did not commit numerous errors of translation or adaptation: the most important is probably 11, RA 10 (as well as **RB**) *clipeus* for τὸ ὄπλον.

Perhaps, in the light of *RB*’s correction, he might be blamed for too large a Greek element in his vocabulary and syntax (38, RA 19 *subsannium navis*, Gr. σανίδωμα: 38, **RB** 15 *sentina*; 34, RA 12 *Advenientibus age similiter*, very seldom in Latin (cf. ThLL I 1386 30-3) but cf. ποιέω + dat., cf. LSJ, s.v. ποιέω B.2 [**RB** 12 *De advenientibus*]). What is striking is the extent of his adaptation for a Latin readership. In this respect he appears not to have been a man of very great erudition: the verses that he quotes do not overstep the usual repertoire. Nearly all of them come from the standard literature on ancient Rome, cf. ch.11 RA app. font. What we must give him credit for is that he has inserted his Latin quotations at apposite points. A feat of his own ability can be seen in ch.11, the *descriptio tempestatis*, since the Greek model here probably had a prose text. It was a precept in Roman Rhetoric, cf. Sen., *Suas.* 3,2 *Describe nunc tempestatem*. For this τόπος see R. Kussl, *Papyrusfragmente*

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<sup>64</sup> The *Vitae Patrum* cannot avoid this custom either: 6,3,11 (PL 73, p.1010<sup>B</sup>): *hepar doleo* ‘I am liverish’, with *avelleus iecur* ‘snatching away the liver’ immediately following. See furthermore ed. m., n.609.

*griechischer Romane*, Tübingen 1991, p.137. Similarly ch.41, with its rhythmic hexameters put in the mouth of Tharsia in the forecastle. In making these additions, he does not hesitate to quote the Fathers of the Church (see app. font. 41, RA 12, derived from Ambrose's hymn). His longest borrowing from contemporary popular literature is a selection of ten riddles (ch. 42-43) from the poetic collection of Symphosius, which more or less fit Apollonius' situation. (We should note that his selection was liable to shortening, c.q. correction; *RB* retains only seven riddles.) He must have been a religious man. In significant places he uses ablatives absolute such as *deo favente*, *deo volente*, probably following **R(Gr)**, since these phrases also occur in Greek writings (even in the Greek novel, cf. e.g. Xen. of Ephesos 1,7,2 τοῦ θεοῦ βουλομένου 'God willing', where however Apollo is meant).

The number of biblical quotations is not remarkable; they are mainly (romantic) passages from Genesis, Judges, Esther, and above all Tobias (see *Index locorum ex S.S. [Vulg.]*). It is remarkable that these quotations do not agree with the Greek version of the Septuagint (cf. 45, RA 4-5), in other words that they can hardly have been directly derived from **R(Gr)**, but were introduced from or adapted to St. Jerome's translation/adaptation. This discovery could help us in dating the novel. The books of Tobias and Judith are the last books of the Bible which Jerome translated. Tobias is dated 405-407. We must also keep in mind that the biblical reminiscences in the *HA* presuppose a considerable familiarity with the Bible (ch.31, 37, 51) and that it took a long time for Jerome's translation to be accepted as the official text (especially in Rome many translations which are usually subsumed under the *Vetus Latina* continued to circulate for a long time). In the vocabulary of *RA* some words suggest a fairly late date (especially 49, RA 7 *sonat*: this impersonal use is especially common in Gregory of Tours [540-594]). On the other hand the original text underlying *RA*, viz. **R(Gr)**, must also be given a late date, cf. Introd. VI.4. All these factors point to a fairly late date; as the ThLL states, s.V<sup>EX</sup>. In practice this means that seen against the background of the steadily declining knowledge of Greek in Rome, the translation/-adaptation accomplished by the redactor of *RA* may be considered a remarkable achievement which certainly was appreciated by his immediate environment, cf. P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en Occident*, Paris 1948<sup>2</sup>, pp.129-36 'Les études grecques en Italie. La décadence'; H. Steinacker, 'Die römische Kirche und die griechischen Sprachkenntnisse des Frühmittelalters', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichischen Geschichtsforschung*, Bnd 52 (1954), pp.28-66, esp. pp.48-51.

## 2. RECENSION B

2.1. *In general*

The *RB* redactor must have had many reasons for his revision – that is surely an appropriate term for his recension. He is likely to have had access to **R(Gr)**, as appears from the insertion of numerous details from the very first word (*Fuit*, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,1,1 Ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀνὴρ <...> Λυκομήδης ὄνομα ‘There was a man in Ephesos <...> called Lycomedes’ [but such a beginning is common in Greek and Latin]) to the final gesture in ch.51 (σφραγίς, corresponding to Xen. Eph. 5,15,2).

First of all he objected to the novel’s length: he cut down on the long, often vacuous epic verbiage. He also ordered and supplemented the slipshod catalogue of facts in *RA*. He has done his utmost to find a proper place for certain details. In our general introduction and provisional conclusions we discussed at some length *RB*’s aim of replacing or eliminating objectionable words and notions: especially terms relating to astrology and *fatum* were taboo to him. In pursuing these aims<sup>65</sup> literary knowledge came in handy. Pagan authors receive at the hands of *RB* a more extensive and more correct use:

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 2, RB 6-7 | <i>Octavia</i> 193 (where, as in the <i>HA</i> , the <i>nutrix</i> is speaking) <...> <i>violare prima quae toros ausa est tuos</i> .  |
| 11, RB 7  | <i>Nam paucis horis perierunt carbasa ventis</i> : in the hexameter the phrase <i>carbasa ventis</i> is of frequent occurrence in the high literature, cf. Ovid., <i>Epist.</i> 7,171. |
| 20, RB 9  | <i>instante amoris audacia</i> : a direct borrowing from Ovid., <i>Met.</i> 4,96 (the story of Pyramus and Thisbe) <i>audacem faciebat amor</i> .                                      |

<sup>65</sup> It looks as if, especially in toponyms, *RA* simply transliterated his model **R(Gr)**: *RB* Latinised these forms, cf. 28, *RA* 2 (*applicuit*) *Tharsos* (acc. of motion towards, from the Gr. [?] Θαρσοί/Ταρσοί) ~ *RB* 2 *Tharso* (loc.). What might also fall under the head of transliteration is presumably the ellipsis, frequent in the *HA*, of *civitas* following the geographical adjective, e.g. (tit.) *regis Tyriae* A, β (*sc. civitatis*), cf. Ind. Gramm., s.v. ellipsis. This use is rare in Latin writing in the classical period, and is most frequent in combination with Greek towns, cf. Virgil, *Aen.*, 2,281 *O lux Dardaniae* (*sc. urbis*); *ibid.*, 3,156; Ovid, *Epist.* 16,57 *Dardaniae muros excelsaque tecta*. In Late Latin (Greg. Magn., Gregory of Tours) this ellipsis is popular, cf. J. Adams, *The Text and Language of a Vulgar Latin Chronicle* (Anonymus Valesianus II), London 1976, p.83. Its use in the *HA* could very well be explained from these examples. In Greek writing, however, it was always very popular; witness such names as Ἀπολλωνία, Ἡράκλεια, Ὀλυμπία, Ὀλβία, Ποσειδωνία (= Paestum) (*sc. πόλις* ‘the city’). This suggests that the reading *Tyriae* might be a case of transliteration which could be explained on these grounds. (The ellipsis, frequent in later Greek of πόλις as in ὁ τῆς Τυρίων ἡγούμενος [cf. Theod., *Hist. Eccl.* 1,5,6], ἡ Ῥωμαίων [*Hist. Laus.*, ed. Bartelink, ch.38, l.196] is to some extent beyond this discussion.)

20, RB 15

*per ceram mandavi, quae ruborem (RB: pudorem RA) non habet, a direct borrowing from Cic., Ad Fam. 5,12,1 epistula enim non erubescit, cf. Ambr., De Virg. 1,1,1.*

The Church Fathers are also represented:

36, RB 4

*Quoscumque nodos quaestionum proposuerint, cf. Aug., Bapt. 2,1,1 (from 400) quando in aliquem nodum quaestionis inciderit.*

A solitary alteration in the Vulgate text shows that here, too, he knows and understands his text:

46, RA 14

*taceant ~ RB 13 tacerent (= Vulg., Act. Ap. 12,17).*

He must have possessed a much better knowledge of the genre than *RA*, both of Latin<sup>66</sup> and of Greek writings. This is apparent from the large number of minor alterations between *RA* and *RB*, e.g.:

10, RA 8

*octo aereis (= χαλκοῖ): RB 7 aeris octo, cf. Hor., Sat. 1,6,75*

16, RA 22

*fecit ([?] ἐποίησε): RB 20 stetit*

18, RA 14

*in multa infirmitate: RB 14 simulata infirmitate (τόπος).*

We cannot fail to be struck by the facility with which *RB* is able to introduce a *terminus technicus*, especially legal terms. He may well have had some schooling in this field, e.g.:

5, RB 6

*sin alias, legem agnoscas, cf. ThLL I 1358,32 ~ RA /*

12, RA 23

*si quando ... redditus fueris natalibus tuis (an expression used in the manumission of slaves, cf. OLD, s.v. natalis (7.b): here used in addressing king [!] Apollonius): RB 26 dignitati tuae redditus fueris*

29, RA 26

*liberabunt te: RB 29 vindicabunt te*

37, RA 5

*filiam repetendam: RB 8 recipiendam*

46, RA 7

*mittatur (sc. aliquis) ~ RB 7 deducatur ... leno*

50, RB 26

*manumissum ~ (RA aliter)*

51, RA 14

*trahi ad palatium: RB 12 ducere 'remove'.*

Finally we must not pass over a striking characteristic of *RB*, viz. the consistency with which he sustains certain alterations throughout the story.

<sup>66</sup> It is remarkable that *RB*, even in the midst of a Greek ἔκφρασις as in ch.8, cannot resist the temptation to insert a typically Latin rhetorical piece of word-play with *quaeror* 'I am being searched' and *queror* 'I have to complain', nor did the *descriptio tempestatis* in ch.11 as a proper rhetorical set piece fail to attract him.

Compare Ind. voc., ssvv. *coeipi; in conspectu; homines; item* (RB *iterum*); *misereri mei* (RB *miserere*); *a praesenti; scelestia* (RB *scelerata*); *sestertia auri* (RB *sestertia*). This affords splendid support for our thesis that *RB* represents a continuous correction of *RA*.

## 2.2. Correction via a Greek variant text

If we were to conclude that *RB* corrects *RA* merely *ex ingenio* and from his knowledge of literature, we should be doing him injustice, since it is highly probable that in his work of correction he also consulted the (or a?) Greek text of the **HA(Gr)**. Theoretically there is the possibility that *RB* used **R(Gr)** or a similar source throughout. However, this can hardly have been the case, as is evident from a large number of errors, e.g.:

10, RA 10

(*cives ...*) *exhilarati facti adclamationibus* (*gratias agebant*) ~ RB 8 *exhilarati faustis adclamationibus*, cf. Vulg. 1 Macch. 5,64 *fausta adclamantes*. A single glance at a relevant Greek manuscript could have told *RB* that here the ἐκβοήσεις were involved, with Apollonius being acclaimed as πατήρ πατρίδος αἰώνιος, cf. 50, RA 8, which *RB* 8 likewise misunderstood. See also *supra* VI.1.

27, RA 6

*Sanguis ... intus a perfrictione coagulatus fuerat* ~ RB 5 *Sanguis ... ad perfectionem coagulatus erat*. *RB*'s nonsensical reading can only have arisen from a lack of understanding of the word *perfrictio* (from [?] ἀπόψυξις 'cooling' 'rigour'). Here too consulting a Greek MS might have been helpful.

There are, however, a limited number of passages where we must assume a Greek original, as we saw above in ch.III (*RA* and *RB* compared), section 6.

### 2.2.1 The excursus ch.8, RB 2-20

The first of these passages that we shall discuss is ch.8, RB 2-20 where within a few lines we encounter as many as six expressions which give rise to a strong suspicion that a Greek text underlies this excursus, cf. ed. m., pp.118-9; Introd. VIII.2. Compare for the moment:

8, RB 2

*insistebant*: from (?) ἐπέβαινον, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐπιβαίνω (II) 'go on board';

- 8, RB 3 *iam ut medium umbilicum pelagi tenebat*: from (?) Hom., *Od.* 1,50 ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλὸς ἐστὶ θαλάσσης 'where the *umbilicus* ('umbilical cord') is of the sea';
- 8, RB 6 *interiorem ... partem pelagi teneamus*: although quite possible in Lat. (cf. ThLL 2209 23-9) it may perhaps be interpreted as a direct rendering of (?) τὸ ἐνδοτέρω μέρος τοῦ πελάγους, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐνδοτέρω (II) 'a more remote part of the sea';
- 8, RB 6-7 *Rex (sc. Antiochus) longam habet manum*: this expression is very rare in Latin: Ovid., *Her.* 17,168 *An nescis longas regibus esse manus?* (cf. ed. m., n.645), but rather proverbial in Greek, cf. μακραὶ τυράννων χεῖρες [perhaps also to be cited: Artaxerxes μακρόχειρ];
- 8, RB 9 *armamenta (paranda sunt et) aqua dulcis (quaerenda). Subiacet (nobis litus Tarsiae)*: three expressions in succession for which a Greek equivalent is easy to find: (?) τὰ ὄπλα – ὕδωρ γλυκύ – ὑπόκειται (seen from the high sea), cf. LSJ, s.v. ὑπόκειμαι (I.2). The phrase *litus Tarsiae* (sc. civitatis) may here also well be significant: ἡ ἀκτὴ τῆς Ταρσίας (sc. πόλεως);
- 8, RB 10 *et erit nobis eventus*: this clause has caused many *scribae* and interpreters considerable difficulty. However, its meaning becomes clear if we compare it with the Greek καὶ ἔσται ἡμῖν ἑκβασίς/ἀπόβασίς 'there we shall have an opportunity/possibility of going ashore'. This interpretation is supported by the *Glossaria* (where *eventus* corresponds to ἀπόβασίς, ἑκβασίς), the characteristic usage of the Greek novel (cf. *Less.*, s.v. ἐκβαίνω) and Hom. (*Od.* 5,410; 12,305). See for a fuller comment ed. m., p.119.

### 2.2.2 Proper names

Another cluster is formed by the proper names, which are found in *RA* only sparingly. *RB* however gives many significant names, all of which can be derived from Greek. Compare:

- 26, RB 2 *Chaeremon* (from (?) Χαίρημων) ~ *RA* /;
- 28, RB 9 *cum filia vestra Philotimiade* (from (?) Φιλοτιμιάς 'Miss Dignity') ~ *RA* 8 *cum filia vestra* (in 31, *RA* 2 her name is *Philomusia*, from (?) Φιλομουσία 'fond of learning', doubtless better, cf. *infra* n.77);

31, RA 1

*Dionysia* ~ RB 1.4 *Dionysiada*: the difference can be explained from later Greek. The form Διονυσιάδα is an example of the word-formation, common in late and Byzantine Greek, with a suffix -ιάδα (nom.) instead of the usual form Διονυσιάς, -άδος, cf. Ps. Method., [2] 3,2-3 *chiliada*, instead of *chilias*, see W.J. Aerts – G.A.A. Kortekaas, *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius, II. Anmerkungen, Wörterverzeichnisse, Indices*, Lovanii 1988, p.66.

33, RB 3/.23

Names in the text, all of them very significant, have been supplied: *Ninus* (from [?] Νίνοϛ, the lustful founder of Nineveh); *Amiantus* (from Ἀμιάντοϛ ‘undefiled, pure’, for the brutal brothel servant!); *Breseida* (= Briseida) (from [?] Βρησηϊΐδα, nom. sing. fem., beside Βρησηϊΐς), the favourite slave girl of Achilles. For the form *Breseida*, cf. *supra* 31, RB 1.4.

49, RB 10

*Sonuit ... Tyrium Apollonium regem uxorem suam Archistratem cognovisse* ~ RA 8 *Tyrium Apollonium recognovisse suam coniugem*. This is the only place in *HA* where all MSS of *RB* mention the name of *Archistratis*. Of course it is possible to assert that *Archistratem* is an interpolation, although it has been transmitted in β, M (-itr- M). For this reason Schmeling (1988), p.81,1 notes: ‘*Archistratem delevi post* (= after) *RA*’. A much more logical hypothesis would be that at this crucial place *RB* has again consulted a Greek original and found a form Ἀρχίστρατις there. We should note, however, that *RB* has not been consistent: elsewhere in his *recensio* he does not supply this name.

From these two sections the conclusion seems inescapable that *RB* has consulted another Greek text beside **R(Gr)**. This cannot have been the same text which *RA* used, as is shown by the various different readings which probably underlie *RA* and *RB*. Compare:

31, RA 1

Διονυσιάς ~ RB 2 Διονυσιάδα

31, RA 2

Φιλομουσία ‘fond of learning’ ~ 28, RB 9  
Φιλοτιμιάς ‘Miss Dignity’

These differences show clearly that the *RB* recension offers a more logical version. The excursus in ch.8 can also scarcely have been a variant ver-



sion of R(Gr), since in the HA we are told of an irrational surrender to the waves and the sea, *cf.* 6, RA 20 *tradidit se alto pelago*, *cf.* app. font. Here in the RB variant Apollonius' coming to Tarsus is represented as the result of an internal consultation: 'it was necessary to find provisions'. This seems to be a case of 'epitome aucta', as we know it in Greek literature, especially in Pseudo-Callisthenes with its numerous recensions.<sup>67</sup> See for further discussion Introd. VIII.2.

### 2.2.3 *The ending of the RA/RB*

Possibly the same conclusion may also be applied to the ending of the HA, where the two versions diverge considerably:

51, RA 32-34

*Peractis annis, quod superius diximus* (viz. 74 years) *in pace atque senectute bona defuncti sunt* ~ RB 26 *Casus suos suorumque ipse descripsit et duo volumina fecit: unum Dianae in templo Ephesiorum, aliud in bibliotheca sua exposuit*. RA's version may go back directly to Vulg., Gen. 15,15 *tu* (sc. Abraham) *autem ibis ad patres tuos in pace, sepultus in senectute bona* (gr. LXX μετ' εἰρήνης, ταφείς ἐν γῆρα καλῶ). According to ThLL II 2092,7-9 the phrase *bona senectus* is exclusively Christian. (For the Vulgate, see also Gen. 25,8; Iud. 8,32; 1 Par. 29,28; Tob. 14,15.) In how far RA was a verbatim rendering of R(Gr) is in our view an open question, *cf.* Pall., *Hist. mon.* 26,1 ἐν γῆρει καλῶ; *Hist. Laus.* (ed. Bartelink), ch.54, l.44, ἐκοιμήθη ἐν γῆρα καλῶ καὶ βαθυτάτῃ πραότητι 'she (sc. Melania senior) died in a beautiful old age and deepest serenity'. Perhaps RB took exception to RA's biblical, patriarchal wording. This may have been the reason why he opted for a more

<sup>67</sup> Cf. R. Merkelbach, 'Der Überlieferungstyp "Epitome Aucta" und die Historia Apollonii', *ZPE* 108 (1995), p.7-9. Another possibility might be variation in the codices, or it might even be a variation made by the author himself. Recently scholars have argued in favour of authorial variation in Chariton and Achill. Tat., *cf.* S. Swain, 'A century and More of the Greek Novel' in *Oxford Readings in the Greek Novel*, Oxford University Press 1999 (pp.3-35), p.6 n.11. A third possibility could of course be another short variant version beside R(Gr). *The Life of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra*, for example, shows, within the so-called Amisus version, striking differences in naming with the Ancyra account. Thus Θεοδοσία 'Gift of God' replaces Τεκούσα '(spiritual) Mother'; Εὐφημία 'The praised girl' replaces Φαεινή 'The radiant girl' and Ἰουλιανή for Ἰουλίττα, *cf.* H. Grégoire and P. Orgels, 'Le passion de S. Théodote, oeuvre du Pseudo-Nil', *BZ* 44 (1951), pp.165-84, esp. p.174, n.1.

authentic σφραγίς ‘guarantee of authenticity’, as was offered by Xen. Eph. 5,12,2 ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἤεσαν ... καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν γραφὴν τῇ θεῷ ἀνέθεσαν πάντα ὅσα τε ἔπαθον καὶ ὅσα ἔδρασαν ‘They went to the temple of Artemis ... they set up an inscription in honour of the goddess, commemorating all their sufferings and all their adventures.’ Although a direct derivation from Xen. Eph. 5,12,2 cannot readily be assumed, since there are various counter-arguments, it does seem very plausible that *RB* here consulted a Greek text which was closely related to **R(Gr)**. Elsewhere *RB* does his utmost to eliminate all traces of religion and pagan rituals as completely as possible (cf. supra III.3). In ch.48, where Artemis has brought about the reunion of father, mother and daughter, she is not given a single word of thanks, neither in *RA* nor in *RB*. That *RB* here at the end of the story makes Apollonius deposit the story of his life in the temple of Artemis is a tacit, but eloquent expression of gratitude to Artemis, which in our opinion comes from an authentic, unimpeachable source.

With the conclusion that in a limited number of places *RB* has provided himself with further information we may end our discussion of this matter.<sup>68</sup> *RB*’s proceeding corresponds exactly to the requirements listed by Gregory of Tours in his account of the *Acta Andreae*, viz. *brevitas* and *integritas rationis* (ed. M. Bonnet, ‘Liber de Miraculis Beatae Andreae apostoli’, *MGH, Script. Merov. I*, pp.826-46 [quotation p.827, 15-20]):

*Nam repperi librum de virtutibus sancti Andreae apostoli, qui propter nimiam verbositatem a nonnullis apocrifus dicebatur; de quo placuit ut, retractatis enucleatisque tantum virtutibus, praetermissis his quae fastidium generabant, uno tantum parvo volumine admiranda miracula clauderentur, quod et legentibus praestaret gratiam et detrahentium auferret invidiam, quia inviolatam fidem non exegit (i.q. exigit?) multitudo verborum, sed integritas rationis et puritas mentis.*

<sup>68</sup> At a very limited number of places in the *HA* it might be doubted whether and in how far *RB* consulted another Greek text. We are referring especially to 1, *RB* 1-2 (cf. app. font.); 4, *RB* 6 (cf. app. font.); 33, *RA* 3-4 (cf. app. crit.).

‘For I found a book on the miracles of the holy apostle Andrew, which on account of its excessive verbosity was said by some to be apocryphal; as regards this book I decided to treat and unravel only the miracles afresh, omitting all those things which usually cause only distaste, and in doing so to sum up in a tiny volume only the spectacular miracles, which would be gratifying to the readers and also silence the strictures of the critics, since it is not a circumstantial account that commands an unconditional belief, but only a pure and rational attitude and an impartial mind.’

Fixing a date for *RB* is, as in the case of *RA*, a precarious undertaking. A long interval between *RA* and *RB* seems unlikely. *RB*’s tendency towards a classical formulation makes it difficult to rely on style and vocabulary as an *indicium temporis*. Nevertheless such a term as 5, *RB* 6 *sin alias* points to a late date, cf. ThLL I, s.v. *alias*, 1550,41 (Bened., *Reg.* 2,41); ed. m., p.100. His efforts to make *RA*’s legal terminology more precise (cf. Introd. VII.2.1), his use of the *cursus* (Introd. III.4), his practice of enlisting Greek sources despite a declining knowledge of Greek (Introd. VII.2,2), all these elements fit the cultural level of Rome in the sixth century beautifully, cf. Steinacker (1954), pp.55-7. A date such as s. VI, proposed by the ThLL, seems entirely plausible. Possibly we might consider a slightly more precise date: VI<sup>IN-MED</sup>.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### WAS THE *HA* WRITTEN IN TARSUS? A PROPOSAL

Now that in the preceding chapters we have more closely determined the relation between *RA* and *RB*, showing that *RB* makes its own contribution to the story going back to a Greek variant text, we would like to conclude the discussion with an in-depth examination of the possibility of a closer specification of its Asia Minor provenance and even a precise localisation in Tarsus. This question is of great importance, not only for *RA*, but also for the text genesis of *RB*; the more so since in the preceding discussion certain questions and problems have remained unsolved. Of course such a hypothesis cannot be strictly proved; in the present *epitome* form of the text all direct reference is lacking. Yet even in the form in which the *HA* has been transmitted to us there exist several topographical and cultural *indicia* which point to Tarsus and, following a suggestion by Prof. J.N. Bremmer,<sup>69</sup> make such a provenance highly plausible. Unfortunately within the scope of this Introduction we are obliged to restrict ourselves to a summary argumentation; a more detailed commentary would need to adduce further arguments for each of the following points. We shall begin our discussion with *RA*, since some characteristic details have been eliminated in *RB*. For the convenience of the reader we have numbered our arguments, presenting them in the order of the narrative. We will return to this numbering when we come to discuss *RB*.

#### 1. RECENSION A

1.1 Apollonius' departure from Tyrus as well as his arrival in Tarsus are shrouded in mystery in *RA*: 6, *RA* 20 *Et hora silentissima tertia tradidit se alto pelago*, which is followed without any further argument by 8, *RA* 3-4 *devenit Apollonius civitatem Tharsiam. Et deambulans iuxta litus visus est a quodam Hellenico*. A second meeting follows in 9, *RA* 1 *dum deambulet in eodem loco, occurrit ei alius homo, nomine Stranguillio*. This course of events invites a great deal of comment, since the epitomator has garbled the order of these meetings, cf. *Introd.* V.1. In the correct order the welcome by

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<sup>69</sup> J.N. Bremmer 'The Novel and the Apocryphal Acts: Place, Time and Readership' in: H. Hofmann-M. Zimmerman, *Colloquia on the Novel*, Groningen, vol. IX, 1998, pp.157-80, esp. pp.169-70.

Stranguillio would come first (now ch.9) with the message of a threatening famine. Then follows Apollonius' gift of corn and the citizens awarding him an honorary statue (now ch.10). Only then follows the meeting between Apollonius and Hellanicus, who informs Apollonius that he has been outlawed (now ch.8). Apollonius decides to flee as soon as possible (now ch.11). As for the phrase which *RA* uses to describe this flight, *tradidit se alto pelago*, any Roman reader would probably have interpreted this as figurative language in the style of Vergil, *Georg.* 2,41 *pelago dare vela patenti*, or Horace, *Carm.* 1,3,11 *qui fragilem truci commisit pelago ratem*. In our view, however, the phrase was intended to be taken literally: to surrender oneself to the sea, to allow oneself to be carried along by the waves at random, in a direction determined by them. This fatalistic attitude is already found in Homer, *Odys.* 5,343 σχεδὴν ἀνέμοισι φέρεσθαι κάλλιπε 'he surrendered his raft to the winds to carry it along'. The Greek novel offers numerous examples: the fragments of Herpyllis (ed. Zimmermann, p.72,35) μετὰ | δὲ νοσῶδει παραδόντες πελάγει 'after we had surrendered ourselves to an ill-omened sea'; Charit. 3,5,2 εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἑαυτὸν ἀφείναι τοῖς ἀνέμοις φέρεσθαι 'to surrender oneself to the sea, to be carried wherever the winds chose', cf. 8,2,11; Xen. Eph. 1,14,4 παραδοὺς ἑαυτὸν τοῖς κύμασιν 'after surrendering himself to the waves' (cf. *id.* 1,3,2; 3,2,14); Achill. Tat. 3,2,4 ἡμεῖς <...> ἐμένομεν, παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς τῇ τύχῃ, ῥίψαντες τὰς ἐλπίδας 'we however stayed <on the sinking ship>, surrendering ourselves to fate, giving up all hope', cf. 5,9,3; Heliod. 1,22,4 τοῦ κυβερνήτου <...> τῇ τύχῃ κυβερνᾶν ἐπιτρέψαντος 'after the helmsman had surrendered the rudder to fate'. These views are still found in late Greek and Byzantine literature, cf. Syn., *Epist.* 129. The epitomator had no problems taking them over. These data would seem to show that Apollonius arrived in Tarsus carried along by wind and waves as *fatum* would have it.

1.2 The events after the landing are described in a very cryptic manner: 8, RA 4 *deambulans iuxta litus*, and 9, RA 1 *Post haec Apollonius dum deambulet in eodem loco supra litore*. For a more precise indication of place we must in my view start from Strabo 14.5.10. In his description of Tarsus he observes that a river, the Cydnos, flows right across the city. On the mouth of this river he remarks<sup>70</sup> μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀγχιάλην αἰ τοῦ Κύδνου ἐκβολαὶ κατὰ τὸ Ῥῆγμα καλούμενον. ἔστι δὲ λιμνάζων τόπος, ἔχων καὶ παλαιὰ νεώρια, εἰς ὃν ἐκπίπτει ὁ Κύδνος ὁ διαρρέων μέσσην τὴν Ταρσόν, τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου τῆς πόλεως Ταύρου· καὶ ἔστιν ἐπίνειον ἢ λίμνη τῆς Ταρσοῦ. 'After Anchialê (*i.e.* City near the sea) one comes to the out-

<sup>70</sup> Text and translation from H.L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, t. VI, London-Cambridge, Mass. 1970 (LCL), pp.342-3. We shall return to the underlined words in our discussion of *RB*.

lets of the Cydnus, near the Rhegma (*i.e.* The Surf), as it is called. It is a place that forms into a lake<sup>71</sup> having also ancient arsenals; and into it empties the Cydnus River, which flows through the middle of Tarsus and has its sources in the city of Taurus, which lies above Tarsus. The lake is also the naval station of Tarsus.’ This text makes the situation a little clearer. After Apollonius’ ship had entered the harbour, he is taking a walk ‘along the shore’, ‘on the beach’. In our view these phrases fit Strabo’s ‘Ρῆγμα’. Other sources also mention that this area was no more than a sandy swamp and of no value as such.<sup>72</sup>

1.3 The scene of the meeting of Hellenicus and Apollonius is characterised by a salutation by Hellenicus, a poor beggar (8, RA 7 *hominem plebeium*).<sup>73</sup> Apollonius haughtily rejects this salutation. From Philostr., *Vita Apoll.* 1,7 it appears that the inhabitants of Tarsus liked to walk on the banks of the Cydnus, and that they were accustomed to greet each other loudly while doing so.<sup>74</sup> What they call out to one another appears from a slightly later passage in Philostratos’ account: τὸ γὰρ ‘χαίρε’ καὶ τὸ ‘εὖ πράττε’ καὶ τὸ ‘Ζεὺς ἴλωε’ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οἱ ὄρνιθες εὐχονται ‘for the birds will wish you “farewell”’, and say “Good day” or “Zeus help you” and such like.’ A salutation scene between Hellenicus and Apollonius on the banks of the Cydnus would fit nicely into this pattern, with the difference that instead of ‘good luck to you’ Apollonius hears the bad news of outlawry: no wonder he does not respond.

1.4 After Stranguillio, being the first to come out of the town, has met Apollonius and has told him of the impending famine, the two of them go, apparently on foot, to Tarsus, cf. 10, RA 1 *perrexerunt* (*sc.* *pedibus*), Probably this represents the actual situation accurately, cf. W.M. Ramsay, *The Cities of*

<sup>71</sup> Probably it would be better to speak of an ‘inland lake’, cf. Dio Chrys., Or. 34,33 (addressed to the *Tarsenses*) ταῖς ἄκραις ὅμοιον εἶναι ταῖς ποιούσαις τοὺς λιμένας, αἵτινες ἅπασαν ἐκδέχονται τὴν βίαν τῆς θαλάττης, τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς ἀκίνητον καὶ γαλήνῳ φυλάττουσι (‘I say that the leader of a city should stand out against the violence of the people) like the promontories that form our harbours, which receive the full violence of the sea but keep the inner waters calm and peaceful.’

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Dio Chrys. Or. 34.45 Αἱ μὲν οὖν θινες καὶ τὰ πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ οὐδενὸς ἄξια ‘Sand-dunes and swampland of no value.’ Nevertheless Tarsus and its neighbouring towns of Adanus, Mallus, Aegae and Soli fought bitterly for the possession of this area.

<sup>73</sup> The name of Hellenicus is probably very significant: the inhabitants of Tarsus were proud of their Greek origins, cf. L. Robert, ‘Documents d’Asie Mineure’, *BCH*, CI 1977. t. I Études, p.108, n.95: “Il était bien besoin de dire aux Tarsiens qu’ils étaient «Hellènes».”

<sup>74</sup> Text and translation from F.C. Conybeare, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Cambridge, Mass.~London (LCL 16) tom. I 1989, pp.16-7 ποταμός τε αὐτοὺς διαρρεῖ Κύδνος, ᾧ παρακάθηνται, καθάπερ τῶν ὀρνίθων οἱ ὑγροί ‘And a stream called the Cydnus runs through their city, along the banks of which they sit like so many water-fowl.’

*St. Paul*, London 1907, pp.105-12 ‘Tharsus, the River and the Sea’, esp. p.109; H.V. Morton, *In the Steps of St. Paul*, London 1936, p.58 ‘the great marsh of Rhegma, five miles away’. Such a distance can be covered on foot in approximately 90 minutes. Therefore, *RA*’s wording conforms to reality.<sup>75</sup>

1.5 Then follows the arrival in Tarsus, where Apollonius mounts the *tribunal in foro*. Tarsus never possessed a proper ἀκρόπολις: it was situated in the plain at the foot of the Taurus Mountains, cf. Strabo 14.5.12. With some regret Dio Chrys., *Or.* 33,39 (text and translation from I.W. Cohoon – H. Lamar Crosby, Cambridge, Mass.-London 1979) notes that εἰ συνέβαινεν ὑμᾶς ὑψηλὴν τινα ἔχειν ἄκραν ἢ νῆ Δία ὄρος ὑπερκείμενον, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι πόλεις ‘Supposed you happened to possess a lofty rock, or, by Zeus, an overhanging mountain such as other cities have.’ Recent excavations (in the years 1940 to 1960), however, have shown that Tarsus did after all know an ἀκρόπολις, although it was of a modest height, cf. H. Goldman, *Excavations at Közli Kule, Tarsus*. Vol. I: Text. *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Princeton, New Jersey 1950. These excavations not only revealed traces of a Roman theatre, but also an abundance of Hellenistic and Roman pottery. They underscore the rich culture of the antique Tarsus, gateway of the East.<sup>76</sup> We conclude that the statement here and at the parallel place 29, *RA* 23 *ascende in forum* corresponds to historical reality.

1.6 Possibly the formulation in Apollonius’ speech to the citizens of Tarsus 10, *RA* 3 *cunctis civibus et maioribus eiusdem civitatis dixit* directly

<sup>75</sup> Strabo’s statement at 14.5.11 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰσι εἰς Ταρσὸν στάδιοι κάκειθεν οὐ πλείους πέντε (*omnes codd. praeter F*) ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Κύδνου’. <From Amisus straight down, according to Strabo’s world-picture> ‘the distance thence to Tarsus is one hundred and twenty stadia, and the distance from there to the outlet of the Cydnos (*sc.* in the Rhegma) is no more than five stadia’ meets with textcritical objections. Some editors (Kremer, Meineke) omit πέντε. Prof. S. Radt, the future editor of Strabo, agrees with this. Others (C. Müller, Jones [cf. n.70]) propose replacing πέντε (= εἴ) with σ’ (*i.e.* ἑβδομήκοντα ‘seventy’). This reading meets with much approval, cf. D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton 1950, p.1147: ‘at present the coast is twelve miles from the city’ (in our view this includes sand banks). For the time being, we follow Ramsay and Morton, who have travelled in the area. At any rate the *Tarsenses*, walking on both banks of the Cydnos, were able to keep pace with Cleopatra’s boat as it sailed towards Antony in Tarsus, cf. Plutarch, *Vita Anton.* 26,3 τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρωμάρτουν ἑκατέρωθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. ‘Of the inhabitants, some accompanied her on either bank of the river from its very mouth, while others went down from the city to behold the sight.’

<sup>76</sup> Cf. R. Ziegler ‘Aspekte der Entwicklung tarsischer Kulte in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit’ in: H. Blum, B. Faust, P. Pfälzner, A.M. Wittke, *Brückenland Anatolien? Ursachen, Extensität und Modi des Kulturaustausches zwischen Anatolien und seinen Nachbarn*. [Tübingen] Attempto Verlag 2002, pp.363-79.



reflects the form of government of the city of Tarsus. There beside the δῆμος and the βουλή there was a third power, οἱ γέροντες, cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.* 34.16 οὐ χθὲς καὶ πρόην χωρὶς ἦν ὁ δῆμος καὶ χωρὶς ἡ βουλή καὶ νῦν ἔτι καθ' αὐτοὺς οἱ γέροντες, ἰδίᾳ τὸ συμφέρον ἐκάστων δῆλον ὅτι σκοπούντων 'Is it not true that but a day or two ago the Assembly took one course and the Council another and that the Elders still maintain a position of independence, each body consulting its own self-interest?' Compare Jones, *ad loc.* p.351, n.2: 'the Elders formed a distinct political organization both in Tarsus and in many other cities in that time.'; C.B. Welles, 'Hellenistic Tarsus' in: *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* (Beyrouth) 38 (1962), pp.41-75, esp. p.73 and n.3; J.A. van Rossum, *De Gerousia in de Griekse steden van het Romeinse Rijk*, (doctoral dissertation, University of Leiden) Haarlem 1988, p.217.

1.7 Perhaps the name of the daughter of Stranguillio and Dionysias, Φιλομουσία 'she who loves the Muses' (31, RA 2), and the positively early age at which Tharsia and Philomusia were sent to school (29, RA 1 *facta quinquennis*) should also be viewed against the background of a Tarsus origin of the HA. As Strabo 14.5.13 tells us, the *Tarsenses* were extremely studious, even more so than Athens and Alexandria. Τοσαύτη δὲ τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώποις σπουδὴ πρὸς τε φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν ἐγκύκλιον ἅπασαν γέγονεν, ὥσθ' ὑπερβέβληνται καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον τόπον δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν, ἐν ᾧ σχολαὶ καὶ διατριβαὶ φιλοσόφων γεγόνασι. 'The people of Tarsus have devoted themselves so eagerly, not only to philosophy, but also to the whole round of education in general, that they have surpassed Athens, Alexandria, or any other place that can be named where there have been schools and lectures of philosophers. <...> Further, the city of Tarsus has all kinds of schools of rhetoric, and in general it not only has a flourishing population but also is most powerful, thus keeping up the reputation of the mother-city.'<sup>77</sup>

1.8 Towards the conclusion of Apollonius' adventures we are told that at Tarsus (51, RA 1) he *munera restituens, restaurat universas terms, moenia publica, murorum turres*. These happen to be precisely those public buildings that Tarsus was especially proud of. Thus Dio Chrys. in his *Or.* 33, 17-18, which is directly addressed to the citizens of Tarsus, lists among the *elogia urbis*: ναός, τεῖχος, βαλανεῖα, στοαί, πλήθος οἰκῶν καὶ μέγεθος.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Against this background the name (28, RB 9) *Philotimias*, the daughter of Stranguillio and Dionysias, turns out to be secondary in comparison with (31, RA 2) *Philomusia*, cf. *Introd.* VII.2.b.2.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Robert, l.l. (see n.73 above), p.129.



1.9 Finally we might note the term of address which Apollonius uses in his speech to the citizens of Tarsus, 10, RA 3.9 Cives Tharsis. Like the excellent editor of the HA, Riese (1893), we feel justified in regarding this form as *firmum argumentum Graecae originis* (Riese [1872] Praef. XI) inasmuch as it is a direct rendering of Πολίται/Ἄνδρες Ταρσεῖς (or possibly Θαρσεῖς). Dio Chrys., in his two orations which are directly addressed to the Tarsenses, invariably uses the term of address Ἄνδρες Ταρσεῖς (Or. 33,57; Or. 34,1.7.37). The aspirated form Θαρσός (Tharsia civitas) is especially used with reference to this very city. Compare expressions such as ταρσικάριος beside Θαρ- ‘weaver of fabrics’ and ταρσικός beside Θαρσ-, cf. LSJ, ss.vv. These aspirated forms are found especially in the 3rd and 4th centuries, the time of origin of **HA(Gr)**.<sup>79</sup> Therefore the name of the chief heroine, Tharsia, may well be original, also as regards **HA(Gr)**.

The sum of the *indicia* from RA<sup>80</sup> adduced above would seem to support the thesis that the HA very probably originated in Tarsus.

<sup>79</sup> For the aspirated form in Late Latin and Late Greek, cf. H. Ruge, *Pauly-Wissowa, R.E.*, 2. Reihe (R-Z) 4,2, Stuttgart 1932, col. 2437. This form has a long previous history, cf. P. Desideri – A.M. Jasink, *Cilicia. Dall'età di Kizzuwatna alla conquista macedone*, Torino 1990, p.154.

<sup>80</sup> In a note I would like to discuss a few arguments which to some readers might be positive, but possibly to others negative. 1. Rohde, who laid the foundations of our present knowledge of the Greek and Latin novel, had already noted the frequent occurrence in the HA of the *prostratio*/προσκυνήσις, e.g. 9, RA/RB 15-18 Stranguillio prostrates himself before Apollonius; 12, RA/RB Apollonius before the fisherman on the beach of Cyrene (!); 22, RA/RB 4 the African princess before her father; 33, RA 20/RB 16 Tharsia in the lupanar before the villicus (!). As prostration is an originally Oriental gesture, it might very well point to Tarsus, ‘a perfect amalgamation of Orient and Occident’ (Morton, p.50). However, the gesture occurs in many other places, not only in the Greek novel (Rohde<sup>3</sup>, p.441, points to Xen. of Eph.), but also on the Latin side (in pagan as well as Christian authors). In my view we cannot attribute to the argument anything more than supportive value. 2. Perhaps 10, RA 6/RB 5 *vestra felicitate faciente* may also hide an allusion to Tarsus, inasmuch as the Τύχη πόλεως/Fortuna urbis is referred to. Schmeling (1984) accordingly prints *Felicitas*. It is true that Τύχη, in many different postures, does occur on Tarsus coins, cf. D.H. Cox, *A Tarsus coin collection in the Adana Museum*, New York 1941 (nos. 124, 137-8, 172-4, 178, 180, 192, 207, 220). But the connection with other cities, regions, countries, etc. on the Latin as well as the Greek side is too frequent for any specific conclusions to be justified, cf. ThLL VI.1 p.1188, ll.47-66; the statue of the Τύχη of Antioch was world famous. 3. The theme of piracy, a central one in the HA, might also well be used to argue for an origin in Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia; in Antiquity Cilicia was notorious for its piracy (Strabo 14.5.6). Yet piracy is of such frequent occurrence in Antiquity that no firm conclusions can be drawn, cf. H.A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World - An Essay in Mediterranean History*, Chicago 1967<sup>2</sup> (Ch. VI is entitled ‘The pirates of Cilicia’). Piracy as such was a much used τόπος in the ancient novel. Riese (1893) already pointed to Xen. Eph. 1,31,1.

## 2. RECENSION B

When we come to discuss *RB*, we face many more problems. In the above we have argued that on the one hand *RB* in his attempts at correction has eliminated some graecisms in *RA* (perhaps in part unconsciously), *cf.* Introd. IV.3. On the other hand we have attempted to show that in critical places such as naming and the final affirmation (51, *RB* 26-28) *RB* introduced his own Greek variant version, *cf.* Introd. VII.2.32 This picture also emerges from a more specific investigation such as we are now conducting. A close comparison of the places in *RA* that we cited above with parallel passages in *RB* (the comparison is indicated by the symbol ~) shows that *RB* sometimes introduces grammatical or stylistic modifications into the text (e.g. 8, *RA* 3 *devenit Apollonius civitatem Tharsiam* ~ *RB* 11 *veniens Apollonius Tarsum*; 8, *RA* 4 *Et deambulans iuxta litus* ~ *RB* *Et dum deambulabat ad litus maris*. More importantly for our argument, he sometimes modifies or eliminates material in phrases which matter in our investigation, e.g. 9, *RA* *deambulet in eodem loco* (i.q. Πηγμῶν) *supra litore* (*cf.* § 2 above) ~ *RB* /; 10, *RA* 2-3 *cunctis civibus et maioribus eiusdem civitatis dixit* (*cf.* § 6) ~ 10, *RB* 1-2 *cunctis civibus praesentibus*; 10, *RA* 3 *Cives Tharsis* (*cf.* § 9) ~ 10, *RB* 2 *Cives Tarsiae*; 29, *RA* 23 *ascende in forum* (*cf.* § 6) ~ *RB* 25 *perveni ad forum*; 31, *RA* 2 *nomine Philomusia* (*cf.* § 7) ~ *RB* /.

This proceeding by *RB* does not seem to be very promising for a contribution from *RB* within the field we are examining. Yet we believe that we can find a relevant *indiciū* in *RB*. In addition to the extremely summary account of Apollonius' arrival in Tarsus that we noted above (*cf.* supra, § 1), *RB* offers an excursus of his own of eight lines. It seems useful to the argument to print this excursus here in extenso: 8, *RB* 2-10 *iuvenis ille Tyrius Apollonius iam ut (3) medium umbilicum pelagi tenebat, repiciens ad eum gubernator sic (4) ait: "Domine Apolloni, numquid de arte mea aliquid quereris?" (5) Apollonius ait: "Ego quidem de arte tua nihil queror, sed a rege illo (6) Antiocho quaeror: interiorem itaque partem pelagi teneamus. Rex enim (7) longam habet manum: quod voluerit facere, perficiet. Sed (8) verendum est, ne nos persequatur."* Gubernator ait: "Ergo, domine, (9) armamenta paranda sunt et aqua dulcis quaerenda est. Subiacet nobis (10) litus Tarsiae." *Iuvenis ait: "Petamus Tarsum et erit nobis eventus."*

This brief excursus reveals *RB* in his various qualities. The rhetor shows himself in the word play (4-6) on *queror-quaeror*, (*cf.* B. Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der langobardischen Gesetze*, Stockholm 1961, p.104) and in the alliteration (6). Presumably the Christian author appears in (7) *quod voluerit facere, perficiet*, *cf.* Ps. 134,6 *omnia quodcumque voluit, Dominus fecit*; Eccl. 8,2 *quia omne quod voluerit, faciet*. We feel that in this brief excursus a third aspect should be noted, viz. *RB* as a 'keen

adaptor'. Presumably he found the arrival in Tarsus as related in *RA* too enigmatic (cf. § 1). In order to make a disembarkation in Tarsus, of all places, plausible, he looked for a solution and found it in a Greek source, which we feel must have been a variant text of **RA/R(Gr)**. That this additional source must have been a Greek text is apparent from a number of graecisms which appear in rapid succession: (3) *umbilicus pelagi*, cf. Hom., *Odys.* 1,50 ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλός ἐστι θαλάσσης 'where the navel of the sea is' (attested in Latin only in Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* 1,6); (6) *intēriorem partem pelagi*, cf. τὸ ἐνδότερον μέρος τοῦ πελάγους; (6-7) *Rex longam habet manum*, cf. μακραὶ τύραννων χεῖρες (attested in Latin only in Ovid, *Her.* 17,166). We think, however, that this source was not only a Greek text, but that it is even possible to argue that it was a text with slight variations from **RA/R(Gr)**. In order to substantiate this claim, we would like to take a closer look at three additional presumed graecisms: (9) *armamenta* (= ὅπλα 'rigging'); (9) *aqua dulcis* (ὑδὼρ γλυκύ); (10) *eventus*: probably a misinterpretation of ἑκβάσις 'place where one can disembark' (instead of the classical form *egressio*), cf. *Intro.* VII.2.2. While admitting that these are central notions involved in any entry into a port [which is why *RB* was able to accommodate these elements so airily], we must nevertheless emphasise that these three notions unmistakably point to Tarsus.

As for the *armamenta*: crossing from Tyre to Tarsus the ships had evidently sustained considerable damage (but *RB* does not give us any details: was his source also based on an *epitome* version?). These *armamenta* could easily be repaired on the νεώρια 'dockyards', cf. the quotation from Strabo 14.5.10 cited above. Tarsus was also famous for its λινουργοί 'linen weavers', 'sail makers' (cf. St. Paul). They could easily repair any damage to sails and rigging.<sup>81</sup>

As for the *aqua dulcis*: taking in fresh water is a harsh reality in ancient navigation. Therefore it is an extremely frequent motif ever since Homer, *Odys.* 12,305, also in the Greek novel, e.g. Charit. 1,11,8; Xen. Eph. 1,11,6. Yet there was a preference for Tarsus, since the Cydnus was famous for its clear and cold water, salutary for humans and animals, cf. Strabo 14,5,12. The main reason for this was the snow on the Taurus Mountains and the rapid fall from mountain to plain.

Going ashore (*eventus* = ἑκβάσις) at Tarsus was extremely attractive since an inland lake (λιμνὴ) with all further facilities offered shelter from weather, wind and waves, cf. Strabo 14,5,10; Dio Chrys., *Or.* 34,33.

<sup>81</sup> On the social position of this group within the political system of Tarsus, see O.M. van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*, Amsterdam 1997, pp.18-9.

Rounding off this discussion of 8, RB 2-10, we consider it probable that *RB* in his excursus followed the narrative pattern of *RA*, which points to a localisation in Tarsus. With regard to the text genesis of the *HA* this means that the excursus should be judged similarly to the other elements which *RB* introduced into the story, because he considered what *RA* offered defective or even mistaken (*cf.* 51, RB 26-28 as compared with 51, RA 32-34). *RB* thus has a text-genetic link with **HA(Gr)**. As for our initial question, this means that we can give a positive answer: both *RA* and *RB* make a localisation in Tarsus extremely plausible.

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## CHAPTER NINE

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF *HA* THROUGH HISTORY (SUMMARY)

Having reached these results, we can follow the development of the *HA* through world history fairly accurately from one phase to another. Nevertheless many questions remain.

The **HA(Gr)** was composed somewhere in *Asia Minor* (perhaps in Tarsus itself, *cf.* Introd. VIII), after the visit of the emperor Caracalla (211-217) to Tarsus. The original novel must have been considerably longer and of a certain literary merit. Especially the skilful way in which the coin image has been used (see Introd. VII.4.2.2 description) makes us think highly of the author's literary ability. Matters which were probably given ample treatment include:

- Apollonius' position as a young, rich, well-educated citizen of Tyre; his encounter with Antiochus, king of Antioch; the condition and consequences of Antiochus' riddles, and, finally, Apollonius' right to the throne of Antioch.
- The role of *fatum* and astrology as against man's free will.
- The role of moral rights and obligations in human relations, more specifically in relations between king and subject (*cf.* ch.8). We find this concern expressed in various situations involving hospitality (*cf.* ch.9, 11), entrusting children to the care of fosterparents (*cf.* ch.28), the right of asylum at a royal or imperial statue (*cf.* ch.19) as well as in a sanctuary (*cf.* ch.17).

Probably because of the astrological tendency in the novel, all trace of the original work **HA(Gr)** has been lost:<sup>82</sup>

- The *HA* was epitomised (the so-called **R(Gr)** *epitome*) probably in the 4th or 5th century, presumably in several divergent variant versions, *cf.* Introd. VII.2.2.2; n.67. Here too a precise localisation appears to be impossible (Ephesus?; monastic milieu, *cf.* Introd. V.2). This phase too can only be ascertained on theoretical grounds.
- This *epitome* (via a transit town such as Aphrodisias?<sup>83</sup>) found its way probably to Rome, where it was translated very faithfully in a

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<sup>82</sup> Other factors may have been a limited circulation and a limited reading public, *cf.* S.A. Stephans 'Who Read Ancient Novels,' in: J. Tatum (1994), pp.405-18.

<sup>83</sup> For relations between Aphrodisias and Rome, *cf.* J.M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (JRS Monographs I) 1982; K.T. Erim, *Aphrodisias, City of Venus Aphrodite*, London 1986 (pp.188-193 Recent Aphrodisias Bibliography).

Christianised milieu, s. V<sup>EX</sup> (**RA**). The translation was of a reasonable quality: it was only lightly adapted to Roman literature. The most important additions from Roman literature were a description of a storm and some riddles by a probably contemporary author (Symphosius). A short poem in a popular metre (ch. 41) was intended to underline the ability of this redactor.

- A further adaptation (the so-called **RB**) took place presumably in s. VI<sup>N</sup>, also in Rome. The reviser objected especially to the length and the diction of *RA*. The riddles by Symphosius were abridged (from 10 to 7) and corrected using another redaction of Symphosius. At a limited number of crucial places he consulted a Greek variant codex (*epitome aucta?*). The revision is very painstaking and sometimes evinces an amazing linguistic awareness. Only once is there a sharp departure from *RA* without a solution by the reviser.<sup>84</sup> What is striking is the numerous alterations to obtain a certain form of *cur-sus*,<sup>85</sup> often combined with *termini technici* especially of a legal character.
- Probably the two versions *RA* and *RB* came to England with the books sent by Pope Gregory the Great (540-604) and were adapted there (*RC* = *versio anglicana*).
- Anglo-Saxon monks were instrumental in introducing the *HA* on the European continent (catalogue St. Wandrille, A.D. 747; catalogue Reichenau, A.D. 821-22, cf. ed. m., p.419-424).
- The text genesis outlined above makes it far from strange that *RA* is only sparingly represented among the manuscripts transmitted to us (only 3 codd. [**AVa<sup>c</sup>P**], among which **A** is fragmentary, **Va<sup>c</sup>** merely offers *variae lectiones* in an *RC* codex, and only **P** gives a complete text); the majority of the manuscript tradition is on the side of *RB* (**bβMπ**). A similar situation prevails among the so-called *codices mixti*: the only family of codd. to go back to *RA* is **Rα**: *RB* has numerous

<sup>84</sup> This is 11, *RB* 10 *clypeum*. *RA* continues with about seven lines of verse. Only then do *RA* and *RB* begin to agree again: *RA* 17 *pariterque morantur* ~ *RA* 10 *pariterque moventur*. Probably *RB* did not understand the enigmatic *clypeum*. For this reason he interrupts his recension to take up the story only later, at an intelligible point.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. H. Martin, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit. Interpretation von Selbstzeugnissen*, München 1974, 70-72; ed. m., nn.481, 661; M. Carmen Puché Lopez, *Un estudio de las clausulas en la novela Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Murcia 1993, I-II (MA-thesis). See also *supra*, n.32.

<sup>86</sup> *Studia Apolloniana* would in our view profit greatly from an up-to-date handlist of MSS, Latin as well as vernacular, including codices now lost that we can only know of indirectly. For the history of the text and the interpretation of the *HA* in certain periods it would be helpful to have lists of the further contents of the relevant MSS. For the Latin MSS, see ed. m. (1984), pp.15-22 'Supplementary Note',

‘Mischtexte’.<sup>86</sup> Of course the readings given by the main recensions *RA*, *RB* and *RC* cannot be used to correct the text of another recension.

- We can only touch in passing on the enormous popularity of the *HA* in prose and verse in nearly all European languages from south to north, and from east to west. On this subject consult: E. Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre, Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations*, D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 1991.<sup>87</sup>

Only rarely can a popular story boast such an interesting history.

In contrast with this massive popularity in the West there is an almost total silence in the East. Apart from the Pergamum riddle (VI.4.2.1) and the Caracalla coin (VI.4.2.2) there are, in so far as we can now make out, no data available on a Greek original, not even among papyrus fragments (cf. n.4). Riese (1893) has attempted, by citing the Greek author Malalas (ca. 490-570), to find evidence of a Greek original, but this attempt must be considered inconclusive.<sup>88</sup> We can only guess at reasons for this

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pp. 419-24, ‘List of lost Latin Manuscripts’. Meanwhile a few new lost MSS have been reported by Schmeling (1984), p.XVIII (cf. ed. m. p.22; Schmeling changes the *sigla* which ever since Klebs have been standard in the literature); Kortekaas (1990), p.70, n.2; Archibald (1991), pp.241-4. In view of the specific aims of the present study this aspect has not been dealt with in any detail.

<sup>87</sup> For a brief up to date summary we refer the reader to E. Archibald, ‘*Apollonius of Tyre* in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance’ in Hofmann (1999), pp.229-37. For the Latin afterlife see Kortekaas, ‘Het adaptatieproces van de *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* in de Middeleeuwen en vroege Renaissance’ in H. van Dijk – E.R. Smits (edd.), *Dwergen op de schouders van Reuzen*. Studies over de receptie van de Oudheid in de Middeleeuwen, Groningen 1990, pp.57-74; *id.*, ‘The Latin adaptations of the ‘*Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*’ in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance’ in *Colloquia on the Novel*, vol. III, Groningen 1990, pp.103-22; *id.*, ‘The *Gesta Apollonii* and its Greek Vocabulary and Glosses’, in H. Hokwerda, E.R. Smits, M.M. Woesthuis (edd.), *Polyphonia Byzantina, Studies in Honour of W.J. Aerts*, Groningen 1990, pp.221-37.

<sup>88</sup> Riese, Praef. XVIII n.2 points to Malalas (c. 490-570) *Chronogr.* 8,18 (ed. Joh. Thurn, *Corpus Fontium Hist. Byz.*, Berlin 2000, p.154 r.43-53) where ὁ σοφώτατος Πανσανίας (s. II<sup>IN</sup>, cf. Der Neue Pauly, Bnd. 9 [2000], s.v.) voices the standard opinion: Seleucus I (father of Antiochus I), founder of the city of Antioch, named this city for his father (also called Antiochus), not for his son. Malalas disagrees passionately: οὐδεὶς δὲ κτίζων πόλιν εἰς ὄνομα τεθνηκότος αὐτὴν καλεῖ· ἔστι γὰρ λῆρος· ἀλλ’ εἰς ὄνομα ζώντος καὶ ἐστώτος καλεῖ. ‘However no one building a city calls it after a dead man, for that is nonsense: he calls it after a person who is alive and well’. With this conclusion Malalas is in agreement with 1, *RA* 1 *Antiochus*, a quo civitas nomen accepit, but this statement is also found in other Greek sources (e.g. Iulian., *Misopogon* 347<sup>a</sup>; *Chron. Pasch.* (ed. Bonn), p.75; *Suda-lexicon*), cf. ed. m., n.712. Moreover it is extremely improbable that Malalas derived his pronouncement from a novel, cf. Klebs, p.12 n.1. To sum up: Riese’s confident statement *ex Apollonio certe hausisse videtur* is hasty and dubious. At most one might conclude that the *HA* version circulated above all in Greek circles.



silence.<sup>89</sup> Possibly one reason can be found in the fairly high stylistic level which must have characterised **HA(Gr)**. This may have led to a fairly limited readership, cf. S. Stephens, *Who Read Ancient Novels?* in Tatum (1994), pp.405-18. Another, probably weightier, reason would seem to be the fact that in **HA(Gr)** *fatum* and astrological tendencies must have played a major role, which was not to the liking of the rising Church, cf. Introd. III.3; VI.1. Even an epitome with a distinct Christian colouring such as **R(Gr)** has left no direct traces. A variant version, such as was used by **RB**, can only be guessed at.

This disappointing negative result on the Greek side can only urge us to cherish the Latin remains with greater care and conservatism. One result of the text genesis we propose is that numerous readings which were omitted or replaced by conjectures in earlier editions turn out to be entirely in place in the *HA*.

#### FINAL CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a long and arduous quest for the Greek origin of the *HA* and the intermediate stage of an *epitome* **R(Gr)** which must have had a Christian colouring. This *epitome* was written, we assume, in a simple style, eliminating to a greater or lesser extent all pagan and offensive elements. Readers might wonder whether this conclusion is startling and possibly at variance with present-day views on the transmission of antique narrative material through the Greek novel in all its various manifestations. We feel that the results of our researches correspond exactly to present-day views on the Greek novel and its gradual incorporation into Christian narrative traditions, cf. R. Pervo, 'The Ancient Novel becomes Christian', in: Schmeling (1966), pp.605-709; R.F. Hock, J. Bradley Chance, J. Perkins (edd.), *Ancient Fiction and Early Christian Narrative*, Atlanta 1998, *passim*; J.N. Bremmer, *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, Louvain 2001, esp. p.33, n. 62. Our thesis of a development from **HA(Gr)** via **R(Gr)** to *RA/RB* finds considerable indirect support in modern theories.

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<sup>89</sup> A possible reflex of the popularity of the *HA* in Greek literature is the relation between the *HA* and the so-called *Pseudoclementina*. In view of the complexities with respect to date, form and content of this latter text, we have paid no attention to this relation in the present study. The date we propose for the origin of the *HA* (215 A.D., Asia Minor, with a marked astrological slant) may have influence upon further studies of the *Pseudoclementina* and its astrological tendencies. For further information, cf. M. Vielberg, *Klemens in den Pseudoklementinischen Rekognitionen. Studien zur literarischen Form des spätantiken Romans* (TU 145), Berlin 2000 (esp. pp.139-44). For the present, see 49, *RA* 1-2/*RB* 1-3, which will need to be discussed in a later commentary.

## CONSEQUENCES FOR THE EDITION OF THE TEXT

21, RA 16           votum [Nihil enim in huiusmodi negotio sine deo  
                                  agi potest]  
42, RA 9 (app. crit.) [ex ea natum, quod vox per eam transit].

39, RB 12      <sup>11</sup> <et rediit ad navem. Exornat navigium et toti discu-  
buerunt>  
46, RA 23      <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> 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<sup>91</sup> In earlier editions the symbol { } was used to mark readings which the editor in question wished to delete, *e.g.* 1, RA 8 {flamma concupiscentiae} Schmeling; 16, RA 13 {melos cum voce} Schmeling; 51, RA 31 {regnauit} Riese; 51, RA {et Tyri

The *app. criticus* has been kept down to a minimum: for *RA* all manuscripts (**AVa<sup>a</sup>P**) have been used, for *RB* **bβπ** (MS **M**, which gives many divergent readings which make little sense, has been quoted selectively; it is referred to as (**M**) above the *app. crit.*). The *app. criticus* is negative: readings deviating from the main manuscripts (as indicated above the *app. crit.*) are registered without mentioning the corresponding reading preferred in the text.

On account of the totally different point of view, modern emendations and conjectures have been recorded only sporadically, in the text as well as the *app. crit.*; for abbreviations and sigla see the *conspectus* which precedes the text. For the convenience of the reader we have occasionally added a translation in both apparatuses. For any further investigations concerning the *HA*, however, the *editio maior* (1984) will be indispensable.

#### GREEK TEXTS USED

Moreover, as for the Greek side of the *HA* this edition uses the following editions:

Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Edited by E. Vilborg, Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1955.

Chariton, *Le roman de Chairéas et Callirhoé*, texte établi et traduit par G. Molinié, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1979.

Héliodore, *Les Ethiopiques (Théagène et Chariclée)*, texte établi par R.M. Rattenbury, T.W. Lumb, et traduit par J. Maillon, I Paris 1934, II 1937, III 1940 (1960), Les belles lettres.

Longus, *Daphnis et Chloe*, edidit M.D. Reeve, Leipzig, Teubner, 1982.

Xénophon d'Ephèse, *Les Ephésiaques*, ou *Le roman d'Habrocomès et d'Anthia*, texte établi et traduit par G. Dalmeyda, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1926 (1962).

*Eroticorum fragmenta papyracea*, edidit B. Lavagnini, Leipzig, Teubner, 1922.

S.A. Stephans – J.J. Winkler. *Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments*, Princeton U.P., New Jersey 1995.

Translations are taken from: B.P. Reardon (ed.) *Collected ancient Greek novels*, Berkeley-London-Los Angeles, California U.P., 1989.

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et Cyrenensium} Schmeling; 51, RA 33 {quod superius diximus} Schmeling. These braces reflected the opinion of the editors that in both Recensions the *HA* was heavily interpolated. They have not been retained in the present edition. We have marked the passages concerned in the *app. crit.* with *del.* (= *delevit*, *-erunt*) or *secl.* (= *seclusit*, *-erunt*).

## SIGLA RECENSIONUM ET CODICUM

## R(ECENSIO) A

In recensione A constituenda adhibentur:

- A** Laurentianus plut. LXVI, 40 s. IX<sup>EX</sup>,  
ff. 62<sup>r</sup>-70<sup>v</sup> (ed. m., pp.24-9)  
tria fragmenta  
– ff. 62<sup>r</sup>-66<sup>v</sup> INCIPIT HISTORIA ... 11, RA 11 *murmurat*;  
– ff. 67<sup>r</sup>-68<sup>v</sup> 35, RA 5 *dantes singulos* ... 39, RA 7 *dominum*;  
– ff. 69<sup>r</sup>-70<sup>v</sup> 43, RA 2 *Non sum* ... 46, RA 23 *traditus*.
- A'** correctiones factae a scriba aliquo  
plerumque ex RB (ed. m., p.25)
- Va<sup>c</sup>** corrector cod. Vaticanus 1984, s. XII  
(*cf. infra* RC: Va) (ed. m., pp.29-30, 418)  
series circiter 200 emendationum  
sparsim in cod. Va 1984, s. XII<sup>IN</sup>
- P** Parisinus 4955, s. XIV<sup>EX</sup>, ff. 9<sup>r</sup>-15<sup>r</sup> (ed. m., pp.31-4, 416)

Praeterea adhibentur:\*

- Rα:** Φ Budapestensis lat. 4, s. X<sup>EX</sup> - XI<sup>IN</sup> (ed. m., pp.34, 414)  
F Lipsiensis 431, s. XII<sup>IN</sup> (ed. m., pp.35, 415)  
L Liber Floridus, anno 1120 (ed. m., pp.35-6, 415)  
G Gottinganus 173, s. XV<sup>IN</sup> (ed. m., pp.36, 415)  
**Atr** Atrebatensis 163 (184), s. XIII<sup>IN</sup> (ed. m., pp.36-7, 413)

Raro:

- RB** R(ecensio) B, *videas alteram paginam*  
**RC** R(ecensio) C, *mixta ex RA et RB fere aequa lance*  
**Va** Vaticanus 1984, s. XII<sup>IN</sup> (ed. m., pp.57-8, 418)  
γ Sloanianus 1619, s. XIII<sup>IN</sup> (ed. m., pp.58, 415)  
δ Bodleianus 247, s. XII<sup>EX</sup> (ed. m., p.416)

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\* Siglum familiae in variis codicibus laudandis plerumque retinetur.

## R(ECENSIO) B

In recensione B constituenda adhibentur:

- b** Vossianus lat. F 113, s. IX<sup>MED</sup>, ff. 30-38 (ed. m., pp.37-41, 415)  
**β** Oxoniensis collegii Magdalenaei 50,  
 s. XII<sup>IN</sup>, ff. 88<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>r</sup> (ed. m., pp.41-6, 416)  
**β<sup>I</sup>** correctiones s. XII (ed. m., pp.42-4)  
**β<sup>II</sup>** Sloanianus 2233, s. XVI<sup>EX</sup>/XVII<sup>IN</sup>,  
 ἀπόγραφον fere codicis β (ed. m., pp.46-7, 415)  
**M** Matritensis 9783, s. XIII<sup>IN-MED</sup>,  
 ff. 67<sup>v</sup>a-79<sup>b</sup> (ed. m., pp.47-51, 416)  
 lectiones admodum liberae: loci selecti in hunc textum recepti.  
**π** Parisinus 6487, s. XIII<sup>IN</sup>, ff. 24<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup> (ed. m., pp.51-4, 416)  
 π<sup>2</sup> corrector s. XIII rarissimo laudatur (19, RB 6)

Praeterea adhibentur (elencati in ordine

fere relationis cum RB):\* (ed. m., pp.88-92)

- RB 5** Pragensis A 43, s. XV<sup>MED</sup> (ed. m., p.417)  
**RT** Recensio Tegernseeensis  
**T** Monacensis (olim Tegernseeensis)  
 19148, s. IX<sup>IN-MED</sup> fragmenta (ed. m., pp.54-5, 416)  
**RSt** Recensio Stutgardiana  
**S** Stutgardianus Hist. Fol. 411,  
 s. XII<sup>MED-EX</sup>, ff. 239<sup>r</sup>-247<sup>v</sup> (ed. m., pp.55-6, 417)  
**RE** Recensio Erfurtensis:  
**ρ** Amplonianus Oct. 92, s. XIII<sup>IN</sup>,  
 ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>v</sup> (ed. m., pp.56, 414)  
**q** Parisinus nouv. acq. 1423,  
 s. XIII<sup>IN-MED</sup>, ff. 156<sup>r</sup>a-166<sup>r</sup>a (ed. m., pp.56-7, 416)  
**r** Vaticanus 1869, s. XII<sup>MED-EX</sup>,  
 ff. 199<sup>v</sup>a-208<sup>b</sup> (ed. m., pp.57, 417)  
**RBern** Recensio Bernensis (ed. m., p.19)  
**Rβ** Recensio mixta, praesertim  
 ex codd. RB (ed. m., p.20)

\* Siglum familiae in variis codicibus laudandis plerumque retinetur.

Versus in ipso capite laudati nudis numeris in app. crit. indicantur

Abbreviationes:

<i>a corr.</i>	ante correctionem
<i>a ras.</i>	ante rasuram
<i>add.</i>	addidit/-erunt
<i>al.</i>	alibi
<i>class.</i>	classice
<i>codd.</i>	codices
<i>cf.</i>	confer
<i>coni.</i>	coniecit
<i>corr.</i>	correxerunt
<i>del.</i>	delevit/deleverunt
<i>distinx.</i>	distinxit/-erunt
<i>ed.</i>	edidit/-erunt
<i>e.g.</i>	exempli gratia
<i>ed. m.</i>	editio mea
<i>edd.</i>	editores
<i>eras.</i>	erasit/-erunt
<i>exp.</i>	expunxit/-erunt
<i>fort.</i>	fortasse
<i>indic.</i>	indicativus
<i>i.q.</i>	id quod
<i>intercl.</i>	interclusit/-erunt
<i>ital.</i>	italice
<i>man. rec.</i>	manus recentior
<i>marg.</i>	marginem
<i>nomin.</i>	nominativus
<i>om.</i>	omisit/-erunt
<i>propos.</i>	proposuit/-erunt
<i>r.</i>	regula
<i>s.v.</i>	sub voce
<i>superscripts.</i>	superscripsit/-erunt
<i>suppl.</i>	supplevit/-erunt
<i>tit.</i>	titulus

# HISTORIA APOLLONII REGIS TYRI

TEXTUS



## RA 1

1. In civitate Antiochia rex fuit quidam nomine Antiochus, a quo ipsa civitas nomen accepit Antiochia. Is habuit unam filiam, virginem speciosissimam, in qua nihil rerum natura exerraverat, nisi quod mortale statuerat. Quae dum ad nubilem pervenisset aetatem et species
- 5 et formonsitas cresceret, multi eam in matrimonium petebant et cum magna dotis pollicitatione currebant. Et cum pater deliberaret, cui potentissimo filiam suam in matrimonium daret, cogente iniqua cupiditate flamma concupiscentiae incidit in amorem filiae suae et coepit eam aliter diligere, quam patrem oportebat. Qui cum luctatur
- 10 cum furore, pugna<t> cum dolore, vincitur amore: excidit illi pietas, oblitus est se esse patrem et induit coniugem. Sed cum sui pectoris vulnus ferre non posset, quadam die prima luce vigilans inrumpit cubiculum filiae suae. Famulos longe excedere iussit, quasi cum filia secretum colloquium habiturus, et stimulante furore libidinis diu
- 15 repugnant<i> filiae suae nodum virginitatis eripuit. Perfectoque scelere evasit cubiculum. Puella vero stans dum miratur scelestis patris impietatem, fluentem sanguinem coepit celare; sed guttae sanguinis in pavimento ceciderunt.

AVa<sup>c</sup>P

2-3 Is habuit ... virginem speciosissimam, cf. e.g. Charit. 1,1; Xen. Eph. 1,1 3-4 nisi ... statuerat, cf. e.g. Charit. 1,1,2 4-5 species ... cresceret, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,1,2 5-6 multi ... currebant, cf. Long. 3,25 9-11 luctatur ... patrem, cf. Achill. Tat. 1,11,3.

Tit. INCIPIT HISTORIA APOLLONII REGIS TYRIE (i.q. Tyriae sc. civitatis) A: APOLLONIVS P 2 His (i.q. Is) A 4 mortale statuerat AVa<sup>c</sup>P | etate P 5 formositas Va<sup>c</sup>P | cum om. P 7 potissimum P | daret om. P 8 flamma concupiscentiae retinui utpote appositionem: alii aliter, del. Schmeling (1988) 9 pater P | conluctatur P 10 pugnat edd.: -na AP 12 possit P | inrumpit Va<sup>c</sup> 13 exercere P 14 stimulante A: simu (pro simul?) supra. add. A<sup>1</sup>: etiam stimulante P 15 repugnante AP | nodum (ex nu-) virginitatis A: florem virg. P 16 cubiculum om. P | dum miratur om. P | scelesti P 17 fluentem sanguinem om. P.

## RB 1

1. Fuit quidam rex Antiochus nomine, a quo ipsa civitas nomen accepit Antiochia. Hic habuit ex amissa coniuge filiam, virginem speciosissimam, in qua nihil natura rerum erraverat, nisi quod mortalem statuerat. Quae cum ad nubilem venisset aetatem et specie pulchritudinis cresceret, multi eam in matrimonio postulabant et cum magna 5 dotis pollicitatione currebant. Sed cum pater deliberaret, cui potissimum filiam suam in matrimonio daret, cogente iniquae cupidinis flamma incidit in filiae suae amorem et coepit eam plus diligere, quam patrem oportebat. Qui cum luctatur cum furore, pugnat cum dolore, vincitur ab amore: excidit illi pietas et oblitus est se esse patrem: 10 induit coniugem. Sed cum saevi pectoris vulnus ferre non posset, quadam die prima luce vigilat, inrupit cubiculum filiae, famulos longius secedere iussit, quasi cum filia secretum conloquium habiturus. Stimulante furore libidinis diu repugnante filia nodum virginittatis erupit. Perpetratoque scelere evasit cubiculum. Scelesti patris impietatem 15 puella mirans cupit celare: sed in pavementum certa videntur.

## bβπ

1 Fuit quidam rex Antiochus nomine, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,1,1 Ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀνὴρ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα ἐκεῖ δυνάμενων, Λυκομήδης ὄνομα 'Among the most influential citizens of Ephesus was a man called Lycomedes'; Heliod. 1,9,1 2 Ex amissa coniuge: *talía pas-sim in eroticis graecis*, cf. Iambl. (ed. Stephens, 1995, 190 [74 a 4]); Xen. Eph. 1,1,1; Achill. Tat. 1,3,2; Heliod. 1,9,1.

*Tit.* INCIPIT HISTORIA APOLLONII REGIS TYRI b: Incipit perpulcra et mirabilis historia appolonij tyrie (i.q. Tyriae, cf. RA tit.), uxoris et filie β: Narratio eorum, quae contigerunt Apollonio Tyrio π (man. rec.), cf. in fine Gesta Tyrii Appollonii 1 vir quidam π 2 habuit ex amissa coniuge bβ: ex a.c. habuit π 3 nihil om. π | rerum om. b 6 deliberat π 7 in matrimonium π | cogitante β 8 flammē β 9 pater π | luctaretur β 10 excedit b (i.q. -ci-?) | oblitus est (est *evanidum*, fort. *autem erasum*) b: oblitus βπ, recte? 11 pectoris vulnus bβ,π<sup>1</sup> (ex pastoris nullus) | efferre b 12 vigilat om. π | irrumpit π 13 iubet βπ 14 furoris libidine b 15 erupit b, E. Löfstedt (1907) 63: disrupit βπ, eripuit *propos. Riese, Lana* (1975) 33 | scelestem b 16 puella om. π | in pavimento βπ | certa indicia π.

## RA 2

2. Subito nutrix eius introivit cubiculum. Vt vidit puellam flebili vultu, asperso pavimento sanguine, roseo rubore perfusa, ait: "Quid sibi vult iste turbatus animus?" Puella ait: "Cara nutrix, modo hoc in cubiculo duo nobilia perierunt nomina." Nutrix ignorans ait: "Domina, quare  
 5 hoc dicis?" Puella ait: "Ante legitimam mearum nuptiarum diem saevo scelere violatam vides." Nutrix ut haec audivit atque vidisset, exhorruit atque ait: "Quis tanta fretus audacia virginis reginae maculavit thorum?" Puella ait: "Impietas fecit scelus." Nutrix ait: "Cur ergo non indicas patri?" Puella ait: "Et ubi est pater?" Et ait: "Cara nutrix, si  
 10 intellegis, quod factum est: periit in me nomen patris. Itaque ne hoc scelus genitoris mei patefaciam, mortis remedium mihi placet. Horret, <ne> haec macula gentibus innotescat." Nutrix ut vidit puellam mortis remedium quaerere, vix eam blando sermon<is> conloquio revocat, ut a  
 15 propositae mortis immanitate excedere<t>, et invita<m> patris sui voluntati satisfacere cohortatur.

AVa<sup>c</sup>P

4 duo nobilia ... nomina, sc. patris (cf. *infra* 10) et virginis: cf. Heliod. 4,10,3. 11 mortis remedium ... placet: locus communis: Ovid., *Met.* 10,378 mors placet; Sen, *Oed.* 1031; *passim apud scriptores eroticos graecos.*

2 perfusa AP, (*nomin. in appositione*): -am *edd.* | sibi A: ubi P 3 in hoc c. P 6 atque vidisset AP: atque vidit *Riese*, *alii*; *delendum putant Thielmann (1881) 52, alii* 8 ergo A: hoc P 9 Et ait: *del. Schmeling (1988)* 10 perit A 11 scelus *om.* P | mihi *om.* P | Horret *scripsi* b, cf. *ed. m.*: Horreat AP; Horreo *edd.* 12 ne *add. Riese* 12-13 mortis remedium puellam P | sermonis Rα: -ne AP | ad A (*i.q.* a) 14 preposita A | excederet *corr. Riese*: -re A,P (*ex desistat excedere*) 14 invitam *corr. Riese* : -a AP 15 satisfaceret Vα<sup>c</sup> | cohortaretur P.

## RB 2

2. Cumque puella quid faceret cogitaret, nutrix subito introiit. Quam ut vidit flebili vultu aspersoque sanguine pavimento, corruit et ait: “Quid sibi vult turbatus animus tuus?” Puella ait: “Cara nutrix, modo hic in cubiculo duo nobilium nomina perierunt”. Nutrix ait: “Domina, quare hoc dicis?” Puella ait: “Ante legitimum nuptiarum mearum diem 5 saevo scelere violata sum”. Nutrix ait: “Quis tanta audacia virginis reginae thorum ausus est violare nec timuit regem?” Puella ait: “Imietas fecit scelus”. Nutrix ait: “Quare hoc non indicas patri?” Puella ait: “Et ubi est pater? Si intelligis, nomen patris periit in me. Itaque ne hoc gentibus pateat mei genitoris scelus et patris macula civibus 10 innotescat, mortis mihi remedium placet”. Nutrix ut audivit eam mortis remedium quaerere, blando sermonis conloquio revocavit invitam patrisque sui ut voluntati satisfaceret hortatur.

bβπ

6-7 cf. Octavia 193 (*nutrix ait*) ... violare prima quae toros ausa est tuos.

1 introiit β<sup>1</sup> (*ex introit* β) 2 aspersumque s. pavimentum π | corruit *codd.*: horruit Ro., Thielmann (1881) 47, alii 5 legitimum b: -itimam βπ 6 Ait nutrix βπ 8 indicasti βπ 9 periit patris βπ 11 remedium mihi βπ 13 in vitam π | patris π | sui ut voluntati β, π (s. voluntati ut): suae voluptati b | ortatur b: hoc hortatur βπ.

## RA 3

3. Qui cum simulata mente ostendebat se civibus suis pium genitorem, intra domesticos vero parietes maritum se filiae gloriabatur. Et ut semper impio thoro frueretur, ad expellendos nuptiarum petitores quaestiones proponebat dicens: “Quicumque vestrum quaestionis meae  
5 propositae solutionem invenerit, accipiet filiam meam in matrimonium: qui autem non invenerit, decollabitur.” Et si quis forte prudentia litterarum quaestionis< > solutionem invenisset, quasi nihil dixisset, decollabatur et caput eius super portae fastigium suspendebatur.  
10 <A>tqui plurimi undique reges, undique patriae principes propter incredibilem puellae speciem contempta morte properabant.

AVa<sup>c</sup>P

8 decollabatur ... suspendebatur *cf.* Hygin., *Fab.* 84 (*ed.* P. Marshall, Teubner [1983], 79-80) (*de Oenomai incestuoso amore*) multis interfectis novissime Pelops ... cum venisset et capita humana super valvas fixa vidisset eorum, qui Hippodamiam in uxorem petierant; Apollod., *Epit.* (*ed.* J. Frazer, Loeb [1989]) Π,5 τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς τῶν μνηστήρων ἐκτεμὼν τῇ οἰκίᾳ προσεπατάλευε ‘and he cut off the heads of the suitors and nailed them to his house’.

1 se civibus suis A: filie sue P 2 parietes A: intra parietes P, parentes (*ex* parietes) Va<sup>c</sup> | maritu A 3 frueretur Rα, *edd.*: fervetur AP | et ad expellendum P 4 quaestiones A 5 propositum solutionis P 6 prudentiæ A 7 questionis Rα: -ni AP 9 Atqui Riese, *edd.*, Atquin E. Baehrens (1871) 856: et quia AP, *fort. retinendum*, *cf.* gr. καὶ ὥς (*i.e.* et tamen), *cf.* 3, RB 6 quia et 6, RA 17 Atque ita A.

## RB 3

3. Inter haec rex impiissimus simulata mente ostendebat se civibus suis pium genitorem. Intra domesticos vero et privatos maritum se filiae laetabatur. Et ut semper impiis thoris filia frueretur, ad expellendos petitores novum nequitiae genus excogitavit. Quaestiones proponebat dicendo: “Si quis vestrum quaestionis meae solutionem invenerit, 5 accipiat filiam meam in matrimonio; qui vero non invenerit, decollabitur,” quia plurimi undique reges ac principes patriae propter incredibilem speciem puellae contempta morte properabant. Et si quis prudentia litterarum quaestionis solutionem invenisset, quasi nihil dixisset, decollabatur et caput eius in portae fastigium ponebatur, ut advenientes 10 imaginem mortis videntes conturbarentur, ne ad talem conditionem accederent.

bβπ

12 imaginem mortis: cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,639 (*the burning of Troy*) plurima mortis imago.

2 Intra b 3 filia bβ: -e π 3-4 ad ... novum b: ad expellendos petitionis nodos βπ 4 excogitans π 6 accipiet βπ, *recte?* 7 .Quia bπ: .quia β, cf. 3, RA 9 et quia AP 8 contempta morte *om.* b | si quis bβ: quisquis π 9 quaes b (*sic*) 10 fastigio βπ | adinvenientes b (*sc.* aenigmatis solutionem) 11 conditionis b.

## RA 4

4. Et cum has crudelitates rex Antiochus exerceret, quidam adulescens locuples valde, genere Tyrius, nomine Apollonius, navigans attingit Antiochiam. Ingressusque ad regem ita eum salutavit: “Ave, domine rex Antioche,” et “quod pater pius es, ad vota tua festinus veni: 5 [gener] regio genere ortus peto filiam tuam in matrimonium”. Rex ut audivit, quod audire nolebat, irato vultu respiciens iuvenem sic ait ad eum: “Iuvenis, nosti nuptiarum conditionem?” At ille ait: “Novi et ad portae fastigium vidi”. <Rex ait>: “Audi ergo quaestionem: Scelere vehor, maternam carnem vescor; quaero fratrem meum, meae matris 10 virum, uxoris meae filium: non invenio”. Iuvenis accepta quaestione paululum discessit a rege; quam cum sapienter scrutaretur, favente deo invenit quaestionis solutionem. Ingressusque ad regem sic ait: “Domine rex, proposuisti mihi quaestionem: audi ergo solutionem. Quod dixisti: scelere vehor, non es mentitus: te respice. Et quod 15 dixisti: maternam carnem vescor, nec et hoc mentitus es: filiam tuam intueri”.

## AP

**9-10** quaero ... filium: *similia leguntur in inscriptione graeca apud Pergamum in balneo quodam inventa* (cf. *Athen. Mitteil.* 35,1910,488-89, no.90): Ἀπώλε(σ)ά μου τὸν ἀδελφό[v], | [τὸν ἄ]νδρα τῆς μητρός μου, | [τὸν υἱ]ὸν τῆς γυναικός μου (*cetera incerta*), cf. *Introd.* VI.4.2.1.

**1** crudelitate A **2** attingit (*ex attigit*) A **3** Ingressus P | Habe (*i.q.* Ave) A **4** Antiochie P | et “quod *sic distinxi*: et quod A, et si P, et ait ‘quod *Riese* | es *om.* A | tua festinus veni A: festinus tua perveni P **5** [gener] *secl. E. Baehrens* (1871) 856, *Riese*, *alii* | hortus A **6** quem P **7** conditionem P | Ad (*i.q.* At) A, cf. 44, RA 2 (*app. crit.*) **8** Rex ait *add. Riese, eleganter sane* **9** materna carne P, *item* 15 | vescor: utor A<sup>1</sup>, cf. RB (βπ) **10** <sup>1</sup>virum ... filium<sup>†</sup> A<sup>1</sup>, *signo traiectionis superscripto* (cf. RB *ad loc.*) **11** a rege discessit P | quam A (*sc. quaestionem*): qui P **13** proposisti A, *Banta* (1952) 79 **14** est A.

## RB 4

4. Cum has crudelitates exerceret rex Antiochus, interposito brevi temporis spatio quidam adolescens Tyrius, patriae suae princeps, locuples immenso, Apollonius nomine, fidus habundantia litterarum navigans adtingit Antiochiam. Ingressus ad regem ait: “Ave, rex”. Et ut vidit rex, quod videre nolebat, ad iuvenem ait: “Salvi sunt cuncti 5  
parentes tui?” Iuvenis ait: “Vltimum signaverunt diem”. Rex ait: “Vltimum nomen reliquerunt”. Iuvenis ait: “Regio genere ortus in matrimonio filiam tuam peto”. Rex ut audivit, quod audire nolebat, respiciens iuvenem ait: “Nosti nuptiarum conditionem?” Iuvenis ait: “Novi et ad portam vidi”. Indignatus rex ait: “Audi ergo quaestionem: 10  
Scelere vehor, maternam carnem vescor, quaero fratrem meum, matris meae filium, uxoris meae virum, nec invenio”. Puer accepta quaestione paululum secessit a rege. Et dum docto pectore quaereret, dum scrutatur scientiam, luctatur cum sapientia, favente deo invenit 15  
quaestionis solutionem. Et reversus ad regem ait: “Bone rex, proposuisti quaestionem. Audi eius solutionem. Nam quod dixisti: scelere vehor, non es mentitus: te respice. Maternam carnem vescor: filiam intueri tuam”.

bβπ

2 patriae suae princeps, cf. 7, RA 10 princeps ... patriae (= πρώτος τῆς πόλεως).  
6 Vltimum signaverunt diem: *graecam aliquam locutionem subesse suspicor* 7 Vltimum nomen reliquerunt, cf. Od. 4,710 ἵνα μηδ' ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποισι λίπηται.

3 immenso *scripsi*: immenso β<sup>II</sup>, in immenso β, inmensum π (*Schmeling, 1984*), inmensus b 4 ingressusque βπ 4-5 Et ut bβ: Vt π 5 cuncti β: nupti b, cf. *Klebs 43 n.1 et 337, om. π* 7 tibi nomen π | reliquerunt. b: reliquerunt? βπ | Regio sum g. βπ | exortus βπ 8 matrimonium βπ 9 Iuvenis ait *om. b, ut saepius* 11 veor b, *item* 16 | materna carne utor βπ, *item* 17 | fratre b 12 meae virum: matris virum π 13 querit π 14 dum luctatur π.



## RA 5

5. Rex ut vidit iuvenem quaestionis solutionem invenisse, sic ait ad eum: “Erras, iuvenis, nihil verum dicis. Decollari quidem mereberis, sed habes triginta dierum spatium: recogita tecum. Et dum reversus fueris et quaestionis meae propositae solutionem inveneris, accipies  
5 filiam meam in matrimonium”. Iuvenis conturbatum habebat animum. Paratamque habens navem ascendit ad patriam suam Týrum.

## AP

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**1** invenisset A **2** quidem *om.* P | merebaris *Ring, alii* **5** conturbatus A **6** habens A (*ex habes*) | *Post Týrum cod. A exhibet, quae P paulo infra* (6, RA 11 Et aperto scrinio – 16 ut neceris”..) *melioe loco habet.*

## RB 5

5. Rex ut audivit quaestionis solutionem iuvenem exsolvisse, timens ne scelus suum patefieret, irato vultu eum respiciens ait: “Longe es, iuvenis, a quaestione: erras, nihil dicis. Decollari merueras, sed habebis XXX dierum spatium: recogita tecum. Reversus dum fueris et quaestionis meae solutionem inveneris, accipies filiam meam in 5 matrimonio: sin alias, legem agnosces”. Iuvenis conturbatus accepto commeato navem suam ascendit, tendit in patriam suam Tyro.

bβπ

1 exposuisse π 2 patefaceret βπ | iratu b 6 autem βπ | agnosces (ex -cis) b: -cas βπ  
7 commeatu βπ | conscendit π | Tiron β, Tyrum π.

## RA 6

6. Et post discessum adolescentis vocat ad se Antiochus rex dispensatorem suum fidelissimum, nomine Thaliarchum, et dicit ei: “Thaliarche, secretorum meorum fidelissime minister, scias, quia Tyrius Apollonius invenit quaestionis meae solutionem. Ascende ergo navem  
 5 confestim ad persequendum iuvenem, et dum veneris Tyrum, in patriam eius, inquires inimicum eius, qui eum aut ferro aut veneno interimat. Postquam reversus fueris, libertatem accipies”. Thaliarchus vero hoc audito adsumens pecuniam simulque venenum navem invec-  
 10 tatus est. Pervenit innocens tandem Apollonius prior ad patriam suam et introivit domum. Et aperto scrinio codicum suorum inquit omnes quaestiones auctorum omniumque pene philosophorum disputationes omniumque etiam Chaldaeorum. Et dum aliud non invenisset, nisi quod cogitaverat, ad semetipsum locutus est dicens: “Quid agis, Apolloni?  
 15 Quaestionem regis solvisti. Filiam eius non accepisti. Ideo dilatus es, ut neceris”.
- Atque ita onerari praecepit naves frumento. Ipse quoque Apollonius cum paucis comitantibus fidelissimis servis navem occulte ascendit, deferens secum multum pondus auri atque argenti, sed et vestem copiosissimam. Et hora noctis silentissima tertia tradidit se alto pelago.  
 20

## AP

1-2 Cf. Charit. 6,3,1 3 scias, quia cf. Charit. 8,2,3 14 ad semetipsum ... Quid agis, Apolloni? cf. Charit. 1,12,2; Xen. Eph. 3,6,3; *ibid.* 5,10,5 *al.* 19-20 multum pondus ... copiosissimam, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,10,4; Heli. 1,22,3; 2,17,2 20 tradidit se ... pelago, cf. Xen. Eph. 1,3,2; 1,14,4; 3,2,14; Achill. Tat. 1,12,5; *alia exempla inde ab Homero* (Od. 5,305 *sqq.*) *laudari possunt*, cf. Introd. VIII.1.

1 Et ... rex A: Post discessum autem adolescentis rex Anthiocus vocat ad se P 2 fidelissimum *om.* P | nomine (*ex nu-*) A | Taliarchu A, -um P, *correx*i, cf. θαλία ‘abundance’, ‘good sheer’ 3 quia A: quod P 4-5 navem confestim A<sup>1</sup>, *signo traiectionis superscripto*, cf. RB 5 Tyrum, *om.* P 6 inquiras P 7 Postquam ... accipies P, *Riese: om.* A 8-9 navem invecus est A, *dubitanter retinui*: navem ascendens petiit patriam P, cf. *infra* 18 10 tandem AP (*indiciumne epitomes?*): tamen *Riese* | prio P 10-11 introivit domum P, cf. RB: introivit A, *ex industria omittens* domum? 11-16 Et aperto ... neceris P, *huc transposuit Riese*, cf. app. crit. ad 5, RA 6 11 scrinium A | inquisivit P | omnes ... Chaldaeorum: questionem omnium philosophorum omniumque Chalaeorum P 12 actorum A (*i.q.* auct-) 13 Et dum aliud non A: Cumque nihil aliud P 14 ad ... dicens A: ait ad semetipsum P 15 recepisti P | Ideo A: secundo P | dilatatus A 16 neceris A: nocearis P 17 Atque ita A (*sc. astris iniquis motus*): Et exiens foras P, *Riese* (*Praef. XIX*): ‘vano emendandi conatu’, cf. Introd. IV.1 | honerati A 18 servis navem occulte ascendit A: *om.* P, cf. *infra* 20 20 silentissima A: *om.* P | tradidit A: navem ascendens tradidit P, cf. *supra* 5, RA 6.

## RB 6

6. Sed post discessum adolescentis vocavit rex dispensatorem suum, cui ait: “Thaliarche, secretorum meorum fidelissime minister, scias quia Tyrius Apollonius invenit quaestionis meae solutionem. Ascende ergo confestim navem ad persequendum iuvenem. Et cum perveneris Tyro, quaere inimicum ei, qui eum ferro aut veneno perimat. Reversus 5  
 Tyro, quaere inimicum ei, qui eum ferro aut veneno perimat. Reversus cum fueris, libertatem accipies”. Statim Thaliarchus assumens pecuniam simulque navem petiit patriam innocentis.  
 Apollonius vero prior attigit patriam suam. Excipitur cum magna laude a civibus suis, sicut solent principes, qui bene merentur. Ducitur in domum suam cum laude et vocibus laetitiae, interiorem petiit 10  
 cubiculum. Continuo iussit adferre sibi scrinea cum voluminibus graecis et latinis universarum quaestionum, ut ex animo quaereret quaestionem illam. Et non invenit meritum, nisi quod invenerat. Et cum aliud non invenisset, secum cogitans ait: “Nisi fallor, Antiochus 15  
 rex impio amore diligit filiam suam et ideo vult istud adferre. Quid agis, Apolloni? Quaestionem regis solvisti, filiam non accepisti: et ideo dilatus es, ut neceris”.  
 Continuo iussit sibi, ut homo locuplex, navem praeparare, et in ea centum milia modios frumenti onerare praecepit et multum pondus auri et argenti et vestem copiosam. Paucis comitantibus fidelissimis 20  
 servis hora noctis tertia navem ascendit tradiditque se alto pelago.

## bβπ

1 rex dispensatorem suum bβ; dispensatorem suum rex π 5 Tyrum π | ei bβπ: eius *Riese* 8 attigit bπ: attingit β 8-9 letitia magna π 10 interiorem b,β (*a. corr.*): interius β<sup>1</sup>π 11 afferri βπ 12 universarum bβ(-que π) 13 meritum bβ (*i.q.* sibi meritum esse): merito π, *Klebs* 269 15 istud adferre b: ista afferre β (*a. corr.*): ista auferre β<sup>1</sup>: istam auferre β<sup>11</sup>: illam mihi auferre π 16 regis *om.* b 16-17 et ideo b: ideo βπ 18 iussit ... locuplex: ut homo locuples iussit sibi βπ | preparari π 19 modios b: modiorum βπ | honerare bβ: -ri π 20 Paucisque π 21 tradiditque se alto pelago. b: Alto pelago navigat βπ.

## RA 7

7. Alia vero die in civitate sua quaeritur a civibus suis ad salutandum et non inventus est. Fit tremor, sonat planctus ingens per totam civitatem. Tantus namque amor civium suorum erga eum erat, ut per multa tempora tonsores privarentur a publico, spectacula tollerentur, balneae clauderentur. Et ut cum haec Tyro aguntur, supervenit ille Thalarchus, qui a rege Antiocho fuerat missus ad necandum iuvenem. Qui ut vidit omnia clausa, ait cuidam puero: "Indica mihi, si valeas: quae est haec causa, quod civitas ista in luctu moratur?" Cui puer ait: O hominem inprobum! Scit et interrogat! Quis est enim, qui nesciat ideo hanc civitatem in luctum esse, quia princeps huius patriae, nomine Apollonius, reversus ab Antiochia subito nusquam conparuit". Tunc Thalarchus dispensator regis hoc audito gaudio plenus rediit ad navem. Et certa navigationis die attingit Antiochiam. Ingressusque ad regem ait: "Domine rex, laetare et gaude, quia iuvenis ille Tyrius Apollonius timens regni tui vires subito nusquam conparuit". Rex ait: "Fugire quidem potest, sed effugire non potest". Continuo huiusmodi edictum proposuit: "Quicumque mihi Tyrium Apollonium, contemptorem regni mei, vivum exhibuerit, accipiet auri talenta centum: qui vero caput eius attulerit, accipiet ducenta". Hoc edicto proposito non tantum eius inimici, sed etiam et amici cupiditate ducebantur et ad indagandum properabant. Quaeritur Apollonium per terras, per montes, per silvas, per universas indagine, et non inveniebatur.

## AP

1-2 Cf. Charit. 1,5,1 9 cf. Charit. 7,6,10 9-10 cf. Charit. 1,12,6.

2 inventum A | tremor P, *edd.*: tremor ingens A 3 suarum A 4 privarentur, a publico A, *hoc modo distincta*: P *non distinx.*: *possis* a publico spectacula tollerentur 5 valneę A (*i.q.* balneae) *Riese*: balnea (*forma solita*) *edd.*, valvea P | ut cum AP, *def.* Löfstedt, Szantyr (*cf.* *ed. m.*): [ut] cum *edd.* | gererentur P 11 subito A, *cf.* 15: *om.* P 12 plenus *om.* P 13 adtingit P 15 numquam conperuit P 16 fugere ... non effugere P 20 etiam et A, (*cf.* *ed. m.*): etiam P 20-21 ad indagandum A: indagandum P 21 Apollonium A (*acc. obi. a verbo impers. pendens*): Appolonijs P, *edd.* | terram A.

## RB 7

7. Alia die quaeritur a civibus nec invenitur. Maeror ingens nascitur, quod princeps amantissimus nusquam comparet. Sonat planctus in totam civitatem. Tantus vero amor circa eum civium erat, ut multo tempore tonsores cessarent, publica spectacula tollerentur, balnea clauderentur, non templa neque taberna<s> quisquam ingrederetur. Et  
 5 dum haec Tyro geruntur, supervenit Thaliarchus dispensator, qui ad necandum eum a rege fuerat missus. Et videns omnia clausa ait cuidam puero: “Dic, si valeas, qua ex causa civitas haec in luctu moratur?” Cui puer ait: “Hominem improbum et stultum! Scit et interrogat! Ideo civitas haec in luctu moratur, quia patriae huius prin-  
 10 ceptis Apollonius ab Antiocho rege reversus nusquam comparuit”. Dispensator ut audivit, gaudio plenus dirigit ad navem. Et certa navigationis die attingit Antiochiam. Pervenitque ad regem et ait: “Laetare, domine rex, Apollonius enim timens regni tui vires nusquam comparuit”. Rex ait: “Fugere potest, sed effugere non potest”. Conti-  
 15 nuo huiusmodi edictum proposuit rex Antiochus dicens: “Quicumque mihi Tyrium Apollonium vivum perduxerit, accipiet L talenta auri: qui vero caput eius pertulerit, centum accipiet”. Hoc edicto proposito non solum inimici, sed etiam amici eius cupiditate seducti ad persequen-  
 20 dum iuvenem properabant. Quaeritur Apollonius per mare, per terras, per montes, per silvas, per diversas indagines, et non invenitur.

## bβπ

1 Aliaque π 2 amantissimus bπ: amat- β 2-3 Sonat ... civitatem om. π 3 vero b: enim βπ | civium om. b 5 neque b: et π, om. β | tabernas *Riese*: taberna b (*neutr. plur.*), *recte?* (cf. ed. m.); tabernacula βπ | quisque β 6 dum b: cum βπ 8 vales βπ | qua ex βπ: qui b | luctum π 9 ait om. π | O hominem βπ | stultum et improbum π 10 interro-  
 gas. β: interrogas? π | haec om. βπ 12 dirigit b (*sc. iter, cf. ed. m.*): dirigit iter βπ 12-13 certa ... die: cepta navigatione die III<sup>a</sup> (tertio π) βπ 13 attingit βπ | ad regem om. β 14 numquam b 16 dictum b 17 Tyrium: Tyrum βπ 18 preposito b 19 ini-  
 mici ... amici: sed etiam inimici amici β 21 per silvas: et s. β.

## RA 8

8. Tunc iussit rex classes navium praeparari ad persequendum iuvenem. Sed moras facientibus his, qui classes navium praeparabant, devenit Apollonius civitatem Tharsiam.
- Et deambulans iuxta litus visus est a quodam Hellenico, cive suo, qui supervenerat ipsa hora. Et accedens ad eum Hellenicus ait: “Ave, rex Apolloni!” At ille salutatus fecit, quod potentes facere consueverunt: sprexit hominem plebeium. Tunc senex indignatus iterato salutavit eum et ait: “Ave, inquam, Apolloni, resaluta et noli despicere pauperatatem nostram, honestis moribus decorata. Si enim scis, cavendum tibi est: si autem nescis, admonendus es. Audi, forsitan quod nescis, quia proscriptus es”. Cui Apollonius ait: Et <quis> patriae meae principem potuit proscribere?” Hell<eni>cus ait: “Rex Antiochus”. Ait Apollonius: “Qua ex causa?” Hell<eni>cus ait: “Quia filiam eius in matrimonium petisti”. Apollonius ait: “Et quantum me proscripsit?” Hell<eni>cus respondit: “Vt, quicumque te vivum exhibuerit, centum auri talenta accipiat: qui vero caput tuum absciderit, accipiet ducenta. Ideoque moneo te: fugae praesidium manda”. Haec cum dixisset Hellenicus, discessit.

RA 8 is continued on page 120

AVa<sup>c</sup>P

15-16 cf. Plut., *Themist.* 29,3 17 cf. Apul., *Met.* 1,15 ‘unde autem,’ inquit, ‘scio an ... fugae mandes praesidium?’

*Ordo capitulum 8-9-10 utriusque Recensionis disturbatus est, cf. Introd. V.1; VIII.1. 3 civitatem Tharsiam A: ad civitatem Tharsum P 4 Et A: Qui P | Hellevico P 5 Hellevicus P, sic 17.24 6 consueverunt P 8 Post eum legitur Hellenicus A, P (ut videtur): delent edd. (cf. ed. m.) | inquam A: inquit P 9 decorata A (appositio in casu nominativo): -am P 10 quia A (i.q. “:”): om. P 12-13 Et ... Apollonius P: om. A | quis Rα: post P 12 Hellenicus Riese: Hellavicus P, item 13.14 13 ex A: de P | Hellenicus (Ellanicus Va<sup>c</sup>) ait AVa<sup>c</sup>: Quia, quod pater est (sc. maritus) esse voluisti. Hellavicus ait P (sententia ex RB 19-20 petita in textum irrepsit) 14 petiisti P | quantum AP (acc. pretii), Löfstedt, Szantyr (cf. ed. m.) 15 auri talenta C P 15-16 accipiat A: reci- P 17 presidio P*

## RB 8

8. Tunc rex iussit classes navium praeparare. Sed moras facientibus, qui classes navium insistebant, iuvenis ille Tyrius Apollonius iam ut medium umbilicum pelagi tenebat, respiciens ad eum gubernator sic ait: “Domine Apolloni, numquid de arte mea aliquid quereris?” Apollonius ait: “Ego quidem de arte tua nihil queror, sed a rege illo 5 Antiocho quaeror: interiorum itaque partem pelagi teneamus. Rex enim longam habet manum: quod voluerit facere, perficiet. Sed verendum est, ne nos persequatur”. Gubernator ait: “Ergo, domine, armamenta paranda sunt et aqua dulcis quaerenda est. Subiacet nobis litus Tarsiae”. Iuvenis ait: “Petamus Tarsum et erit nobis eventus”. 10 Et veniens Apollonius Tarsum evasit ratem. Et dum deambulabat ad litus maris, visus est a quodam Helanico nomine, suo cive, qui ibidem supervenerat. Et accedens ad eum Helanicus ait: “Ave, domine Apolloni”. At ille salutatus fecit, quod potentes facere consueverunt: sprexit hominem. Indignatus senex ait iterato: “Ave,” inquit, “Apolloni, resaluta et noli despicere paupertatem, honestatis moribus decoratam. Et audi, forsitan quod nescis, quia proscripius es”. Apollonius ait: “Patriae principem quis proscripsit?” Helanicus ait: “Rex Antiochus”. Apollonius ait: “Qua ex causa?” Helanicus ait: “Quia, quod 15 pater est, <tu> esse voluisti”. Apollonius ait: “Et quanti me proscripsit?” 20 Senex ait: “Vt, quicumque ei te vivum exhibuerit, accipiet L auri talenta: si caput tuum obtulerit, centum. Itaque moneo te: fugae praesidium manda”. Dixit et sine mora discessit.

RB 8 is continued on page 121

## bβ(M)π

2-10 *Quaedam locutiones graeci, ut videtur, saporis necnon latinae eruditionis occurrunt, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.1; VIII.2.*

1 Tunc b: *om.* βπ | classem β | preparari βπ | moram βπ 2 Tyrus π 3 tenebat. Respiciens β 4 numquid de βπ: quide b | queris bπ 5 quero bπ | illo b: *om.* βπ 6 interiorum itaque partem pelagi b: interiora itaque (β<sup>1</sup> ex aque) pelagi β, interiorum aquam pelagi π 7 manum habet π 9 est *om.* π 10 Tarsiae: Tarsium π | Tarsum: Tharso β 11-12 deambulabat ... maris b: ad litus maris deambulat (β, -labat π) βπ 12 Helanico ... suo cive b: Elanico ... cive suo βπ 13 accedens ... ait b: accedens Elanicus ait ad eum βπ 14 fecit *om.* π | potens facere consueverat b, *corr. Riese* 15 iterato ait βπ | inquit b, -t β (*Riese corrigendus*), π: inquam *Riese, Schmeling* (1988; 1994, 149), *cf. RA* 16 honestatis β: honestate b, honestis π 17 nescis bπ: ignoras π 19 ait<sup>1</sup> b: *om.* βπ 20 tu *add. Hunt* (1994), 316, *elegantior* 21 ei te vium (*sic*) exhibuerit b: te illi vivum exhibuerit β, te vivum exhibuerit illi π | accipiet bβ: -iat π (*sic*) | ·L· *om.* b 21-22 auri talenta b: talenta βπ 22 Itaque b: Ideoque βπ 22-23 fugē(-e) π presidium manda βπ: fuge presidium. Mandans b: fuge, presidium pete. M



## RA 8

Tunc iussit Apollonius revocari ad se senem et ait ad eum:  
 20 “Rem fecisti optimam, ut me instrueres. Pro qua re reputa te mihi  
 caput a cervicibus amputasse et gaudium regi pertulisse”. Et iussit ei  
 proferri centum talenta auri et ait: “Accipe, exempli pauperrime, quia  
 mereris. Et puta te, sicut paulo ante dixi, caput a cervicibus amputasse  
 et gaudium regi pertulisse. Et ecce, habes centum talenta auri et puras  
 25 huius rei causa praemium accipiam. Apud bonos enim homines  
 amicitiam praemio non comparatur”. Et valedicens discessit.

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**19-20** Pro qua re ... pertulisse: *secl. Ring, Riese, Schmeling (1988), cf. 22-23* **20** et gaudium regi pertulisse *om.* P **21** exempli AP, *retinui (cf. ed. m.)* **21-22** qui amereris P, *male diducta verba* **22-23** Et puta ... pertulisse *secl. Klebs 32: sicut ... dixi secl. Ring, Riese, Schmeling (1988)* **24** ait *om.* P | Absi A **25** causa A: *acausa* P **26** amicitiam A (*acc. regens*): -ia P | comparantur A.

## RB 8

Tunc iussit Apolloni-us rogari ad se proferri senem.

Cui protinus iussit centum talenta auri adferri et dari. Cui ait: “Gra- 25  
tissime, exempli pauperrime, accipe, quia mereris: et puta te mihi  
caput a cervicibus amputasse et portasse gaudium regi. Ecce, habes  
praemium centum talenta et manus puras a sanguine innocentis”. Cui  
senex ait: “Absit, domine, ut ego huius rei causa praemium accipiam.  
Apud bonos enim homines amicitia pretium non comparatur, sed 30  
innocentia”. Et valedicens ei discessit.

---

23 iussit *om.* β 24 proferri *codd.*, *fort. secludendum*, *cf.* ed. m. 25 Cui<sup>1</sup> b: Qui βπ | dari βM: ei dari π, ait b 25-26 ait: “Gratissime, exempli (pauperrime), *sic distinxi*: ait Gratissime exempli β; ait Gratissimi exempli π (*Riese, Schmeling* [1988]); ait gratissime Exempli b 26 quia bβ: quod π 28 a sanguine innocentis bπ: et sanguinem innocentem β 30 amicitiam (*sc. acc. regens*) pręcium (*sc. acc. pretii*) b: amacitia. pretio βπ | sed π: et β, et si b (*cf. ed. m.*).

## RA 9

9. Post haec Apollonius dum deambularet in eodem loco supra litore, occurrit ei alius homo, nomine Stranguillio. Cui ait Apollonius: “Ave, mi carissime Stranguillio”. Et ille dixit: “Ave, domine Apolloni. Quid itaque in his locis turbata mente versaris?” Apollonius ait: “Proscriptum vides”. Stranguillius ait: “Et quis te proscripsit?” Apollonius ait: “Rex Antiochus”. Stranguillius ait: “Quae est causa?” Apollonius ait: “Quia filiam eius in matrimonium petivi. Sed, si fieri potest, in civitate vestra volo latere”. Stranguillius ait: “Domine Apolloni, civitas nostra paupera est et nobilitatem tuam ferre non potest. Praeterea duram famem saevamque sterelitem patimur annonae, nec est ulla spes civibus nostris salutem, sed crudelissima mors potius ante oculos nostros versatur”. Apollonius autem ad Stranguillionem ait: “Age ergo deo gratias, quod me profugum finibus vestris applicuit. Dabo itaque civitati vestrae centum milia frumenti modiorum, si 15 fugam meam celaveritis”. Stranguillio ut audivit, prostravit se pedibus Apollonii dicens: “Domine rex Apolloni, si civitati esurienti subvenire, non solum fugam tuam celabunt, sed etiam, si necesse fuerit, pro salute tua dimicabunt”.

## AP

1 litus P 2 occurri A | Cui ait A: cui P 3 karissime A: om. P | Stranguillio A, alibi Stranguillius vel Stranguilio, cf. Introd. V.1 5 Stranguillius AP (cf. ed. m.) 6 est P: ex A (i.q. est?) 7 Post filiam eius P habet sed ut verius dicam coniugem, quae verba Riese textui inseruit: cum nihil huiusmodi inveniatur nec in A nec in Ra, hanc sententiam recipere nolui, fort. iniuria 7 petii P 9 pauper P 9-10 Preteream A 11 spe civibus nostris salutem A: spes salutis civibus nostris P 13 quod A: quia P | in finibus P 16 dicens P, Riese, alii: et dicens A, quod defendi potest 16-17 celabunt ... dimicabunt AP.

## RB 9

9. Et respiciens Apollonius vidit contra se venientem notum sibi hominem maesto vultu dolentem, nomine Stranguillionem. Accessit ad eum protinus et ait: “Ave, Stranguillio”. Stranguillio ait: “Ave, domine Apolloni. Quid itaque his locis turbata mente versaris?” Apollonius ait: “Proscriptum vides”. Stranguillio ait: “Quis te proscripsit?” Apollonius ait: “Rex Antiochus”. Stranguillio ait: “Qua ex causa?” Apollonius ait: “Quia filiam eius (immo, ut verius dixerim, coniugem) in matrimonio petii. Itaque si fieri potest, in patria vestra volo latere”. Stranguillio ait: “Domine Apolloni, civitas nostra pauper est et nobilitatem tuam non potest sustinere. Praeter<ea> diram famem saevamque patitur sterilitatem annonae nec est iam civibus spes ulla salutis, sed crudelissima mors ante oculos nostros est”. Cui Apollonius ait: “Stranguillio carissime, age ergo deo gratias, quod me profugum finibus vestris applicuit. Dabo civitati vestrae centum milia modiorum frumenti, si fugam meam celaveritis”. Stranguillio ut audivit, prostravit se pedibus eius et ait: “Domine Apolloni, si esurienti civitati subveniris, non solum fugam tuam celabit, sed, si necesse fuerit, pro salute tua dimicabunt”.

## bβ(M)π

1 Et respiciens b: Respiciens ergo βπ 2 mixto vultu dolentem (-te Va) b, Va: iuxta vultum deferentem βπ: iustum vultum deferentem M 3 et ait b, β (a. ras.): eras. β<sup>1</sup>: om. π | Ave Stranguilio: om. βπ | Stranguilio ait: Stranguilio et ait β<sup>1</sup>, et ait π 4 ita π | in his locis π 5-6 Quis te ... Stranguilio ait: om. βπ (propter similiter sonantia) 7 eius βπ: regis Antiochi π | ut verum b 8 matrimonium π | latere volo βπ 9 pauper bπ: paupera β 10 Praeterea scripsi: praeter b, propter βπ 10-11 sevamque sterilitatem βπ 11 spes ulla salutis b: ulla salus βπ 12 credulissima b 13 karissime mihi βπ | ergo bβ: om. π, et add. π<sup>1</sup> in marg. 14 vestris om. π | applicui π | centum milia: ·C·/(L in rasura) milia π: centum quinquaginta M 17 celabunt βπ, recte? | sed b: sed etiam βπ, recte? | salute bβ: necessitate π.

## RA 10

10. Cumque haec dixisset, perrexerunt in civitatem. Et ascendens Apollonius tribunal in foro cunctis civibus et maioribus eiusdem civitatis dixit: “Cives Tharsis, quos annonae penuria turbat et opprim-
- 5 memores fugam meam celaturos. Scitote enim me legibus Antiochi regis esse fugatum; sed vestra felicitate faciente hucusque ad vos sum delatus. Dabo itaque vobis centum milia frumenti modiorum eo pretio, quo sum in patriam meam eo<s> mercatus, id est octo aereis singulos modios”. Cives vero Tharsis, qui singulos modios singulos aureos
- 10 mercabantur, exhilarati facti adclamationibus gratias agebant, certatim accipientes frumentum. Apollonius autem, ne deposita regia dignitate mercatoris videretur adsumere nomen magis quam donatoris, pretium, quod acceperat, utilitati eiusdem civitatis redonavit. Cives vero his tantis beneficiis cumulati optant statuam statuere ex aere. Et eam
- 15 conlocaverunt in biga, in foro stantem, in dextra manu fruges tenentem, sinistro pede modium calcantem, et in base haec scripserunt:

TARSIA CIVITAS APOLLONIO TYRIO

DONUM DEDIT EO QUOD

STERELITATEM SUAM ET FAMEM SEDAVERIT.

AVa<sup>c</sup>P

1 perrexit Va<sup>c</sup> 2 cunctis A: civitatis P 3 Tharsis AP, *item* 9, cf. Ταρσεῖς /Θαρσεῖς | turbat† A<sup>1</sup> (cf. 10, RB 2) 4 Tyrius A: primus P 5 celaturi P | enim me A: enim P 6 regis A: regis me P | fugatum A: fugam P | felicitate P, *Riese*: felicitas A 7 delatus *corr. Riese*: dilatus A, celatus P | modiorum frumenti P 8 in patriam meam eo mercatus A: in mea mercatus provincia P | eos *Riese*: eo A, *nihil* P, ea (*sc.* milia) Hunt (1994) 306 9 singulos aureos AP 11 frumentum†A<sup>1</sup> (cf. 10, RB 9) | ne A: *om.* P | regia A: regni P 12 mercaturi A | magis quam donatoris *om.* P | magnum precium P 13 acciperat A (*ex*: -ret) | utilitati eiusdem civitatis A: civibus P 14 optant (*ex* optant) A | ex aere A: *om.* P | eam P: eas A 15 in vica (*i.q.* biga), in foro A, cf. Ziegler (1984), 223: in foro P | stante A 15-16 tenentes A 16 uasē (*i.q.* base) A 17 Tyrio Ra, *Riese*: Tyro AP 19 sedaverit Ra, *Thielmann*: sedhabereet A (*i.q.* sedaverit?), sedavit P (cf. *ed. m.*).

## RB 10

**10.** Ascendens itaque Apollonius tribunal in foro cunctis civibus praesentibus dixit: “Cives Tarsiae, quos annonae caritas opprimit, ego Apollonius Tyrius relevabo. Credo enim vos huius beneficii memores fugam meam celaturos. Scitote enim me legibus Antiochi regis esse fugatum. Sed vestra felicitate faciente huc sum delatus. Dabo itaque 5 vobis centum milia modiorum frumenti eo pretio, quo sum in patria mea mercatus: singulos modios aeris octo”. Hoc audito cives Tarsiae, qui singulos modios singulos aureos mercabantur, exhilarati faustis adclamationibus gratias agentes certatim frumenta portabant. Tunc Apollonius, ne deposita regia dignitate mercatoris magis quam donato- 10 ris nomen videretur assumere, pretium, quod accepit, eiusdem civitatis utilitatibus redonavit. Cives vero ob tanta eius beneficia ex aere bigam ei in foro statuerunt, in qua stans dextera manu fruges tenens, sinistro pede modium calcans, et in base scripserunt:

TARSIA CIVITAS APOLLONIO TYRIO

15

DONUM DEDIT EO QUOD

LIBERALITATE SUA FAMEM SEDAVERIT.

### bβ(M)π

**7** aeris, cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1,6,75 **8-9** faustis adclamationibus, cf. Vulg., *1 Macch.* 5,64.

**2** presentibus in foro π | dixit b: ait βπ | Tarsi (β, Th- π) βπ | caritas b: inopia βMπ, Schmeling (1994) 388 **3** Tyrus b | relevabo β<sup>II</sup>π: relavabo β, revelabo b | vos b: vos omnes βπ | memores ac β **4** me enim π **5** faciente b: favente βπ | elatus π | itaque b: inquit β, inquam π **6** centum bβπ: centum quinquaginta M | frumenti modiorum β **7** aeris: ereis π<sup>I</sup> **8** singulos aureos b: singulis aureis β, singulis argenteis π **8-9** faustis adclamationibus β: faucium adclamationibus b, factis acclamati π **10** ne: om. π | dignitate ut π **11** eiusdem civitati b **12** beneficia eius π **13** ei in foro bπ: in foro ei β | stans bβM (i.q. stat): stans videbatur π; stat cont. Riese, Hunt (1980) n.22 | dextera π **14** in basse b, β (a. corr.): in base β<sup>I</sup>, ibi π | supscripserunt π **15** Tyro b **16** donum dedit bβ: dono data π (sc. statua) **17** liberalitate sua Riese: libertate (i.q. liberalitate) sua bπ, liberalitatem suam β | fame β | sedaverit bπ: seclausurit β.

## RA 11

11. Interpositis mensibus sive diebus paucis hortante Stranguillione et  
Dionysiade, coniuge eius, et premente fortuna ad Pentapolitanas  
Cyrenaeorum terras adfirmabatur navigare, ut ibi latere posset.  
Deducitur itaque Apollonius cum ingenti honore ad navem et  
5 valedicens hominibus ascendit ratem. Qui dum navigaret, intra duas  
horas diei mutata est pelagi fides.

Certa non certis cecidere

Concita tempestas rutilans inluminat orbem.

Aeolus imbrifero <flatu> turbata procellis

- 10 corripit arma. Nothus clipeum <um> caligine ratis

scindit. Omnis latus pelagi revolumine murmurat.

Auster...

Volvitur hinc Borreas nec iam mare sufficit Euro

et freta disturbata sibi involvunt harena

- 15 ... et <totum> revocant <nt> a cardine pontum.

RA 11 is continued on page 128

**A** (*des. post 10 murmurat*), **Va<sup>c</sup>**(6 mutata est ... 12, RA 1 unusquisque *in marg.*), **P**.

**6** pelagi fides, *cf. e.g. Verg., Aen. 3,69; Rut. Nam. 1,205* **7-22** *Epica tempestatis descriptio (cf. Verg., Aen. 1,81-141) ab ipso, ut videtur, redactore conscripta, partim ad textum graecum (cf. 10, app. crit.), partim ad normam centonis, ut aiunt, confecta versibus aptis notisque in unum collectis* **9** turbata procellis, *cf. Verg., Georg. 3,259* **10** *cf. Ovid., Met. 1,264* **13** Hinc Boreas, *cf. Sil. Ital., Pun. 12,617 (cf. infra 20).*

**1** Interpositis ... diebus paucis AP, *retinui cf. Introd. V.1* **2** coniuge eius P, *Riese: om. A* **3** affirmabat P | possit P **6-7** fides. Certa non Va<sup>c</sup>; fides certa. Non A; P *non distinx.* **7-22** *In versibus indicandis Riesium dubitanter secutus sum: membra versuum mihi videntur, non iusta hexametra, cf. 18, RA 1-3* **8** Concita *Riese: Concitatur codd., Rα(F) | urbem AVa<sup>c</sup>* **9** Eulus AP: Euris Va<sup>c</sup> | imbrifero *Riese: inbri- A, imbris ero Va<sup>c</sup>, imbris eoo P | flatu add. Riese, cf. 25, RA 7/RB 6* **10** arma AVa<sup>c</sup>, *Ring: arva P (cf. Verg., Aen. 8,695), edd. | clipeum scripsi cf. Introd. IV.1: clipeo A, cli- P, clypp- Va<sup>c</sup>: edd. improbant* **11** scindit. Omnis *codd. non distinguunt | omnis (iungendumne cum voce latus?) A: -es Va<sup>c</sup>P | murmurat AVa<sup>c</sup>: murmur erat P* **12-13** Auster volvitur Va<sup>c</sup>P: *post Auster verum excidisse putat Riese; Auster delendum Waiblinger (1978)* **11** *utpote additamentum ad tres iam nominatos ventos, fort. melius* **14** disturbata sibi Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα(F), *retinui, cf. ital. 'disturbari', alii aliter | involvunt harenas Rα(F): involvit harena Va<sup>c</sup>(are-), P* **15** totum revocant Rα(F): cum revocata Va<sup>c</sup>P **15-16** pontum. Omnia Rα(F): pontum omnia Va<sup>c</sup>P, *inde et cum revocat<o> a cardine pont<o> omnia miscentur Riese*

## RB 11

11. Interpositis deinde mensibus paucis hortante Stranguillione et Dionysiade, coniuge eius, ad Pentapolim Cyrenam navigare proposuit, ut illic lateret, eo quod ibi benignius agi adfirmaretur. Cum ingenti igitur honore a civibus deductus ad mare, valedicens omnibus conscendit ratem. Qui dum per aliquot dies totidemque noctibus ventis prosperis navigat, subito mutata est pelagi fides, in quo pacto litus Tarsium reliquit. 'Nam paucis horis perierunt carbasa ventis' concitatis; totus <se> effuderat polus et a<b>repto pe<ni>t<us> sereno lumine caeli spirante dira procella

'corripitur. Notus clypeum <...> pariterque move<n>tur  
grando, nubes, Zephyri, fretum et inmania nimbi  
flamina: dant venti mugitum, mors sedula terret.  
Ereptisque remis sibi nauta non invenit undas.  
Hinc Notus, hinc Boreas, hinc horridus Africus instat.

RB 11 is continued on page 129

bβπ

7-8 ventis concitatis, cf. Ovid., *Her.* 7,171.

1 orante π | Strangulione b 2 Dionysiadae (i.q. Dionysiade) b | Cyrenam b (ex -nem), β: Cirenemque π | posuit b 3 agi om. bπ 5 noctes βπ 6 fides bβ: serenitas π | pacto codd.: facto RBern, puncto Thielmann (1881), pacato Heraeus (1893) 7 Tarsium Riese: -sum bβ, Tharso π 7-9 praeunte Riese versusum particulas inesse crediderim 7 perierunt βπ: -venerunt b | carbassum b | enim concitatis π: concitatus b 7-8 totus ... polus scripsi ex RBern: totus ... populus b, totum ... mare βπ 8 se effuderat βπ: effuderat b, RBern (cf. ed. m.) | abrepto scripsi: arrepto b, RBern; obscurato βπ, Schmeling (1988) | penitus scripsi: perita b, cf. pirata RBern; om. βπ | lumine caeli scripsi metri causa: celi lumine βπ, caelo lumen b | spirante b: piratē βπ 9 dira procella βπ: certa procellis b 10 corripitur b, cf. 39, RB 10 et corripitur navis RBern: corripuntur π, Riese, Schmeling (1988), corrumpuntur β | Notus clypeum retinui, cf. RA 10 | Post clypeum continuant codd. pariterque: lacunam indicavit Riese | pariterque β: pariter quae b, pariter π | moventur scripsi: movetur. b, movet βπ 11 grando b: grandius β<sup>1</sup> (ex -dus), grandis π | Zefirim π | fretus b, cf. ThLL VI,1 1311,39-63 | inmania: humana b 12 dentur b | terret om. b 13 Ereptisque scripsi (cf. ed. m.): ereptusque b, erectisque βπ | sibi remis βπ | nauta: om. b | non bβ<sup>1</sup>: om. βπ 14 hinc<sup>2</sup> β: inde bπ



## RA 11

Omnia miscentur. Pulsat mare sidera, caelum.  
 In sese glomeratur hiems pariterque mora<n>tur  
 nubila, grando, nives, <Z>ephyri, freta, fulgida, nimbi.  
 Flamma volat vento, mugit mare conturbat<um>.  
 20 Hinc Nothus, hinc Borreas, hinc Africus horridus instat.  
 Ipse tridente suo Neptunus spargit harenas.  
 Triton terribilis cornu cantabat in undis.

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**16** Pulsat mare sidera, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 3,619 **18** nubila ... nimbi, cf. Fragm. Poet. Rom. (ed. Baehrens 1886, p.358,13) **19** mugit mare, cf. Hor., *Epist.* 2,1,202 **20** Hinc ... instat, cf. Sil. Ital., *Pun.* 12,617 (cf. *supra* 13) **21** Ipse ... Neptunus, cf. Ovid., *Met.* 1,283; spargit harenas, cf. Verg., *Ecl.* 3,87 (= *Aen.* 9,629); Ovid., *Trist.* 4,9,29 **22** Triton terribilis, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6,171-4; | cantabat in undis, cf. Ovid., *Fast.* 6,408.

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**17** glomeratur Rα(F), *edd.*: -ma- Va<sup>c</sup>, -merantur P | morantur Rα: moratur Va<sup>c</sup>P **18** Zephyri Rα: paferi Va<sup>c</sup>P (paphē-) | fulgida P: fulgora Va<sup>c</sup> | *Post* nimbi legit P: Hinc Borreas, hinc Affricus orridus, cf. 20 **19** mareque Va<sup>c</sup> | conturbatum *edd.*: -bat Va<sup>c</sup>P | *Post* conturbat Va<sup>c</sup> ex altera redactione habet: Ereptaue diem remediis non invenit unda **20** Africos Va<sup>c</sup>: Auster P, *corr. Riese* **20-21** instat. Ipse Rα(F): instat. Stat ipse Va<sup>c</sup>P, *corr. Riese* **21** tridente Rα: -tes Va<sup>c</sup>P **22** Triton Rα: -non Va<sup>c</sup>P | terribilis Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα, *Ring*: -li *Riese*, *Schmeling* (1988), cf. RB 16 et Ovid., l.l. (*in app. font.*).

## RB 11

Ipse tridente suo Neptunus spargit harenas.  
 Triton terribili cornu cantabat in undis.  
 Arbor fracta ruit, antemnam corripit unda.

15

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**16** terribili cornu, *cf.* Ovid., *Met.* 12,103.

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**15** tridenti b **17** antemnam (β: -tym- b) bβ: antenna π | corripit bβ<sup>1</sup>: corrui β (*transitiv.*), π (*intransitiv.*).

## RA 12

12. Tunc unusquisque sibi rapuit tabulas, morsque nuntiatur.

- In illa vero caligine tempestatis omnes perierunt. Apollonius vero unius tabulae beneficio in Pentapolitarum est litore pulsus. Iterum stans Apollonius in litore nudus, intuens tranquillum mare ait: “O Neptune, rector pelagi, hominum deceptor innocentium, propter hoc me re<s>er<v>asti egenum et pauperem, quod facilius rex crudelissimus Antiochus persequeretur? Quo itaque ibo? Quam partem petam? Vel quis ignot<o> vitae dabit auxilium?” Et cum sibimet ipsi increparet, subito anima<d>vertens vidit quendam grandaeum, sacco sordido circumdatum. Et prosternens se illius ad pedes effusis lacrimis ait: “Miserere mei, quicumque es, succurre naufrago et egeno, non humilibus natalibus cognito. Et ut scias, cui miserearis: ego sum Tyrius Apollonius, patriae meae princeps. Audi nunc tragoediam calamitatis meae, qui modo genibus tuis provolutus <deprecor> vitae auxilium. Praesta mihi, ut vivam”. Itaque piscator, ut vidit primam speciem iuvenis, misericordia motus erigit eum et tenens manum eius duxit eum intra tecta parietum domus suae et posuit epulas, quas potuit. Et ut plenius misericordiae suae satisfaceret, exuens se tribunarium suum, scindit eum in duas partes aequaliter et dedit unam iuveni dicens: “Tolle hoc, quod habeo, et vade in civitatem: forsitan invenes, qui tibi misereatur. Et si non inveneris, huc revertere et mecum laborabis et piscabis: paupertas, qu<ae>cumque es<t>, sufficiet nobis. Illud tamen admoneo te, ut, si quando deo adveniente redditus fueris natalibus tuis, et tu respicias tribulationem paupertatis meae”. Cui Apollonius ait: “Nisi meminero tui, iterum naufragium patiar nec tui similem inveniam!”

## P

5 rector pelagi, cf. Ovid., *Met.* 1,331; 4,798 19 in duas partes aequaliter, cf. Sulp. Sev., *Vita S. Martini* 3,1-3; *supra* n.23 22 paupertas ... sufficiet, cf. Vulg., *Tob.* 5,25 24 tribulationem paupertatis, cf. Vulg., *Apoc.* 2,9.

3 Iterum P, ut glossema del. Klebs (162, n.1), Schmeling (1988): Interim Ring, edd. 6 reservasti Riese, edd.: reversasti P 8 ignoto Rα(F), edd.: ignote P 9 animavertens P, corr. Riese | sacco P, Rα(Atr.), Ring: sago Rα(LG), Riese, edd. 12 cognito P: genito Riese, fort. recte 13 dracoediam P, i.q. tragoediam 14 deprecor Rα: precor Ring, Riese; om. P 22 quicumque est Rα(F): quicumque es P 23 adveniente P: adnuente Ring, Riese, Tsitsliki (1981); favente Schmeling (1988).

## RB 12

12. Tunc “quisque rapit tabulam, mortemque minatur”.

In tali caligine tempestatis perierunt universi. Apollonius solus beneficio tabulae in Pentapolitanorum est littore pulsus gubernatore pereunte; fortuna proicitur fatigatus in litore Cyrene<s>. Et dum evomit undas, quas potaverat, intuens mare tranquillum, quod paulo ante turbidum senserat, respiciens fluctus sic ait: “O Neptune, praedator maris, fraudator hominum, innocentium deceptor, tabularum latro, Antiocho rege crudelior, utinam animam abstulisses meam! Cui me solum reliquisti, egenum et miserum et impio naufragum? Facilius rex Antiochus crudelissimus persequatur! Quo itaque pergam? Quam partem petam? Quis ignotus ignoto auxilium dabit?” Haec dum loquitur, animadvertit venientem contra se quendam robustum senem, arte piscatoris sordido tribunario coopertum. Cogente necessitate prostravit se illi ad pedes et profusis lacrimis ait: “Miserere, quicumque es, succurre nudo naufrago, non humilibus genito. Ut autem scias, cui miserearis, ego sum Tyrius Apollonius, patriae meae princeps. Audi nunc tropheum calamitatis meae, qui modo genibus tuis provolutus deprecor vitam”. Piscator ut vidit prima specie iuvenem pedibus suis prostratum, misericordia motus levavit eum et tenuit manum eius et duxit infra tectum paupertatis suae et posuit epulas, quas potuit. Et ut plenius pietati suae satisfaceret, exiit se tribunario et in duas partes scidit aequales. Dedit unam iuveni dicens: “Tolle, quod habeo, et vade in civitatem: ibi forsitan invenies, qui misereatur tibi. Si non inveneris, huc revertere. Paupertatem, quaecumque est, sufficiet nobis; mecum piscabis. Illud tamen ammoneo, ut si quando deo favente dignitati tuae redditus fueris, et tu respicias paupertatem tribunarii mei”. Apollonius ait: “Nisi meminero, iterum naufragium patiar nec tui similem inveniam!”

## bβ

1 tunc quosque β, quoque π | tabulam b: naufragium βπ | mortemque minatur *codd.*, *retinui*: mors m. *Tsisikli* (1981) 2-3 tabulae beneficio βπ 3 Pentapolim natorum b | est: *om.* b | littora π | pulsus: *om.* b 3-4 gubernatur perientes b 4 fortuna b, *cf* favente fortuna RBern: et deo volente βπ | fatigantes b | in litore Cyrenes *scripsi*: i.l. Cyrenen b (*recte?*), in Cirenem regionem βπ 5 portaverat π | quod b: quem βπ 6 fluctu b, *correx*i: ad fluctus βπ 8 abstulisses animam β: vitam a.π 9 reliquisti solum βπ | impie βπ | Antiochus: *om.* b 10 persequatur b,β (*a. corr.*), π: -quitur β 10-11 Quam partem petam: *om.* π 13 piscatorem π 14 illi: *om.* π | pedes eius π | profusi b 15 naufrago nudo π | genito π: -tum bβ | autem βπ: *om.* b | cui βπ: quia b 16 miserearis b | Tyrus b 17 tropheum (*ex -am*) b 20 Et ut bβ: ,ut π 21 pietati βπ: -is bπ | exiit β: Et exiit π, exivit b | tribunatio b 22 scindit β | et (dedit) π | unam: *om.* βπ | iuveni b: Apollonio π, Appolloni β 23 ibi bπ: ubi β | qui: *om.* b | tui misereatur βπ 24 Paupertatem b: -tatis π, β (*a. corr.*), -tatas β (*sic*) | quaecumque: que, β, quod π | sufficiat βπ 25 piscaberis βπ, *edd.* 26 respiciens b.

## RA 13

13. Et haec dicens per demo<n>stratam sibi viam iter carpens ingreditur portam civitatis. Et dum secum cogitaret, unde auxilium vitae peteret, vidit puerum per plateam currentem oleo capite unctum, sabano praecinctum, ferentem iuvenilem lusum ad gymnasium pertinentem, maxima voce clamantem et dicentem: “Audite <cives, audite> peregrini, ingenui et servi, gymnasium patet!” Hoc audito Apollonius exuens se tribunarium ingreditur lavacrum, utitur liquore P<alladi>o. Et dum singulos exercentes videre<t>, quaerit sibi parem nec invenit. Tunc rex Archi<s>trates eiusdem civitatis subito cum magna turba famulorum ingressus est gymnasium. Qui dum <cum> suis ad ludum luderet, deo favente approximavit se Apollonius in regis turba et ludente rege sustulit pilam et subtili velocitate remisit remissamque rursum <velocius remisit> nec cadere passus est. Tunc rex Archistrates cum sibi notasset iuvenis velocitatem et, quis esset, nesciret et ad pilae lusum nullum habere<t> parem, intuens famulos suos ait: “Recedite, famuli: hic enim iuvenis, ut suspicor, mihi comparandus est”. Et cum recessissent famuli, Apollonius subtili velocitate manu docta remisit pilam, ut et regi et omnibus vel pueris, qui aderant, miraculum magnum videretur. Videns autem <se> Apollonius a c<uncti>s laudari, constanter adpropinquavit ad regem. Deinde docta manu cer<omate> fricavit regem tanta levitate, ut de sene iuvenem redderet. Iterato in solio gratissime f<o>vit, exeunti officiose manum dedit. Post haec discessit.

Va<sup>c</sup>P

6 Anonym, *Tractatus de dubiis nominibus* (ed. Fr. Glorie, CC SL CXXXIII A, Turnholti 1968, 778 no.181): GYMNASIUM generis neutri sicut ‘balneum’: in Apollonio: ‘gymnasium patet’.

1 demonstratam P 3 capite P: a capite Va<sup>c</sup> 5-6 Audite cives, audite peregrini Rα: Audite peregrini P 7 licore pilido P, corr. Riese 8 videre P, corr. Riese 9 Arcitraces P, cf. 13 Arcistrates P 10 cum Rα: om. P 13 <velocius remisit> *suppleverim*, cf. 17: <velocius percussit> Waiblinger (1978) 122 15 habere P, corr. Ring, Riese 19 se Va<sup>c</sup>: om. P | cunctis Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα: civibus P 20 ceromate Ring: cerconi et P 21 levitate P: leni-edd. 22 fovit edd.: fuit P.

## RB 13

13. Et haec dicens demonstratam sibi viam iter carpens portam civita-  
tis intravit. Et dum cogitat, unde auxilium vitae peteret, vidit puerum  
nudum per plateam currentem oleo unctum, praecinctum sabano,  
ferentem lusus iuvenales ad gymnasium pertinentes, maxima voce  
dicentem: “Audite cives, audite peregrini, liberi et ingenui: gymnasi- 5  
um patet!” Apollonius hoc audito exuens se tribunario et ingreditur  
lavacrum, utitur liquore Palladio. Et dum exercentes singulos intuetur  
parem sibi quaerens, non invenit. Subito Archistrates rex totius illius  
regionis cum turba famulorum ingressus dum cum suis pilae lusum  
exerceret, volente deo miscuit se Apollonius regi. Et decurrentem 10  
sustulit pilam et subtili velocitate percussam ludenti regi remisit  
remissamque rursus velocius percussit nec cadere passus est. Notavit  
sibi rex velocitatem iuvenis et quia sciebat se in pilae lusum neminem  
parem habere, ad suos ait: “Famuli, recedite: hic enim iuvenis, ut  
suspisor, mihi comparandus est”. Apollonius ut audivit se laudari 15  
constanter accessit ad regem et docta manu ceromate fricavit eum  
tanta subtilitate, ut de sene iuvenem redderet. Deinde in solio gratissi-  
me fovit et exeunti manum officiosam dedit et discessit.

## bβ(M)π

1 demonstratam (-que π) sibi viam b, β (*a. corr.*), π: demonstrata sibi via β<sup>1</sup> | iter:  
*om.* π | capiens β 2 auxilium peteret vite π 3 platea b, *quod defendi potest* | unctus b |  
praecinctum: *om.* βπ | sabanum β, -nam π 4 lusus βπ | iuveniles π 5 dicentem: cla-  
mantem π | peregrine b 6 patet b: petite βMπ | exuens b, *retinui*: exuit βπ  
7 Palladio β<sup>1</sup>: pallido b, β (*a. corr.*), π 8 non b: et non β, et non inveniens π 8-9 regi-  
onis illius π, illius b (*civitatis supplere mavult Klebs, 76*) 10 exercet π 11 pilam: *om.* b  
12 percussit π | Notavit: Notuit β 13 rex sibi βπ | velocitatem b: velociter β, faciem π |  
lusu π 16 cheromate βπ, *cf. Schmeling (1994) 388*: cerome b 17 in solio: oleo β<sup>1</sup> |  
fovet bπ, *recte?*

## RA 14

14. Rex autem, ut vidit iuvenem discessisse, conversus ad amicos suos ait: “Iuro vobis, amici, per [communem] salutem meam, me melius nunquam lavisse nisi hodie, beneficio unius adolescentis, quem nescio”. Et intuens unum de famulis suis ait: “Iuvenis ille, qui mihi  
 5 servitium gratissime fecit, vide, quis sit”. Famulus vero secutus est iuvenem et, ut vidit eum sordido tribunario coopertum, reversus ad regem ait: “Bone rex optime, iuvenis naufragus est”. Rex ait: “Et tu unde scis?” Famulus respondit: “Quia illo tacente habitus indicat”. Rex ait: “Vade celerius et dic illi: rogat te rex, ut ad cenam venias”.  
 10 Et cum dixisset ei, adquevit Apollonius et eum ad domum regis secutus est. Famulus prior ingressus dicit regi: “Adest naufragus, sed abiecto habitu introire confunditur”. Statim rex iussit eum dignis vestibus indui et ad cenam ingredi. Et ingressus Apollonius triclinium ait ad eum rex: “Discumbe, iuvenis, et epulare. Dabit enim tibi  
 15 dominus, per quod damna naufragii obliviscaris”. Statimque assignato illi loco Apollonius contra regem discubuit. Adfertur gustatio, deinde cena regalis. Epulantibus ipse solus non epulabatur, sed respiciens aurum, argentum, mensam et ministeria, flens cum dolore omnia intuetur. Sed quidam de senioribus iuxta regem discumbens, ut vidit  
 20 iuvenem singula quaeque curiose conspiciere, respexit ad regem et ait: “Bone rex, vides: ecce, cui tu benignitatem animi tui ostendis, bonis tuis invidet et fortunae”. Cui rex ait: “Amice, suspicaris male, nam iuvenis iste non bonis meis aut fortunae meae invidet, sed, ut arbitror, plura se perdidisse testatur”. Et hilari vultu respiciens iuvenem ait:  
 25 “Iuvenis, epulare nobiscum. Laetare et gaude et meliora de deo spera!”

Va<sup>c</sup>P

2 comunem P, in textum irrepsit (cf. RB) | meam P, Ring, cf. Introd. IV.2.1: iniuria delendum putant Riese, Tsitsikli (1981), Schmeling (1988) 5 gratissime Va<sup>c</sup>P 7 Bone rex optime P, Landgraf, Löfstedt (1913) 260: Domine rex optime coni. Riese 10 (dixisset) ei, adquevit edd.: ei adquevit Klebs, 237 13 ingressus A(pollonius) P, retinui (nom. pendens): ingresso Apollonio Ring, Riese, Schmeling (1988) 17 Epulantibus P, cf. Introd. IV.2.2: Omnibus epulantibus Rα (cf. ed. m.), Cunctis e. Riese, Tsitsikli (1981), alii; Omnibus autem e. Schmeling (1988) 21 vides P, Rα (indic. pro imperativo): vide Riese, Schmeling (1988).

## RB 14

14. Rex ad amicos post discessum iuvenis ait: “Iuro vobis per communem salutem, melius me numquam lavasse, quam hodie, beneficio nescio cuius adolescentis”. Et respiciens unum de famulis ait: “Iuvenis ille, qui mihi officium fecit, vide, quis est”. Ille secutus iuvenem vidit eum tribunario sordido coopertum. Reversus ad regem ait: “Iuvenis ille naufragus est”. Rex ait: “Vnde scis?” Famulus ait: “Illo tacente habitus indicat”. Rex ait: “Vade celerius et dic illi: rogat te rex, ut venias ad cenam”. Apollonius ut audivit, adquevit et ducente famulo pervenit ad regem. Famulus prior ingressus ait regi: “Naufragus adest, sed abiecto habitu introire confunditur”. Statim rex iussit eum vestibus dignis indui et ingredi ad cenam. Ingressus Apollonius triclinium contra regem designato loco discubuit. Infertur gustatio, deinde cena regalis. Apollonius cunctis epulantibus non epulabatur, sed aurum, argentum, vestes, ministeria regalia dum flens cum dolore considerat, quidam senex invidus iuxta regem discumbens vidit iuvenem curiose singula respicientem et ait regi: “Bone rex, ecce homo, cui tu benignitatem animae tuae ostendisti, fortunae tuae invidetur”. Rex ait: “Male suspicaris. Nam iuvenis iste non invidetur, sed plura se perdidisse testatur”. Et hilari vultu respiciens Apollonium ait: “Iuvenis, epulare nobiscum et meliora de deo spera!”

## bβ(M)π

2 melius: *om.* π | lavisse π, lotum fuisse M | quam b: sicut βπ 3 cuiusdam βπ | unus π 5 Reversusque β 7 illi bβ: ei π 9 Famulus ingressus ad regem dixit π: *om.* β 10 Statimque βπ 10-11 indui vestibus regalibus (β: regalibus v. π) βπ 11 ingredi b: intromitti π, introivit β | Ingressus ergo π 12 adsignato β: in ass- π 13-14 aurum, argentum b: argentum et aurum βπ 14 ministeria bβ<sup>1</sup> (*ex miste-*): ac ministeria π 16 prospicientem π<sup>1</sup> (*ex* prospiciens) | Bone rex: *om.* βπ 17 fortunae tuae: fortunae te β | invidetur b, Va, *item* 18: invidet βπ 18 suspicaris β 19 hilarem b.



## RA 15

15. Et dum hortaretur iuvenem, subito introivit filia regis, speciosa atque auro fulgens, iam adulta virgo. Dedit osculum patri, post haec discumbentibus omnibus amicis. Quae dum oscularetur, pervenit ad naufragum. Retrorsum rediit ad patrem et ait: “Bone rex et pater  
 5 optime, quis est [nescio] hic iuvenis, qui contra te in honorato loco discumbit et nescio quid flebili vultu dolet?” Cui rex ait: “Hic iuvenis naufragus est et in gymnasio mihi servitium gratissime fecit: propter quod ad cenam illum invitavi. Quis autem sit aut unde, nescio. Sed si vis, interroga illum: decet enim te, filia sapientissima, omnia nosse. Et  
 10 forsitan, dum cognoveris, misereberis illi”. Hortante igitur patre verecundissimo sermone interrogatur a puella Apollonius et accedens ad eum ait: “Licet taciturnitas tua sit tristior, generositas autem tuam nobilitatem ostendit. Sed, si tibi molestum non est, indica mihi *<nomen et>* casus tuos”. Apollonius ait: “Si nomen quaeris,  
 15 Apollonius sum vocatus; si de thesauro quaeris, in mare perdidisti”. Puella ait: “Apertius indica mihi, ut intelligam”.

## Va°P

1 speciosa micans Va° 2 obsculum P, cf. 3 oscularetur P (*ital.*) 5 nescio hic iuvenis P: [nescio] *secl. multi* (cf. *ed. m.*), *utpote ortum ex* 6 nescio quid; *alii alia proposuerunt* 14 nomen et Ra, *Riese*: omnes P, *Ring* 15 th'aro (*i.q.* thesaro [= thesauro, *ital.*]) P.

## RB 15

15. Et dum hortatur iuvenem, subito introivit filia regis, iam adulta virgo, et dedit osculum patri, deinde discumbentibus amicis. Quae dum singulos osculatur, pervenit ad naufragum. Rediit ad patrem et ait: “Bone rex et pater optime, quis est iste iuvenis, qui contra te honorabili loco discumbit et flebili vultu nescio quid dolet?” Rex ait: 5  
 “Nata dulcis, iuvenis ille naufragus est et in gymnasio mihi officium gratissimum fecit. Propterea ad cenam illum rogavi. Quis autem est aut unde sit, nescio. Sed si scire vis, interroga illum: decet enim te omnia nosse. Forsitan, dum cognoveris, miserebitur illi”. Hortante 10  
 patre puella venit ad iuvenem et verecundo sermone ait: “Licet taciturnitas tua sit tristior, generositas tamen nobilitatem ostendit. Si vero molestum non est, indica mihi nomen et casus tuos”. Apollonius ait: “Si necessitatis nomen quaeris, in mare perdidisti: si nobilitatis, Tarsum reliqui”. Puella ait: “Apertius indica, ut intelligam”.

## bβ(M)π

1 iam *om.* b 2-3 Quae dum: *om.* b 3 singulis b | Rediit βπ: Redita b (*cf.* 17, RB 11 *et ed. m.*) 4 iste b: ille β, *om.* π 6 mihi officium (β, -o b) bβ: officium michi π 7 illum ad cenam π | vocavi π | est *om.* π 8 sit b (*evanidum, fort. autem erasum*), βπ (*variatio modorum*), *del.* Schmeling (1988), Hunt (1989), 411 | vis scire βπ | dicet b 9 misereberis βπ 10-11 taciturnitas tua βπ: taciturnitas b 11 vere b 12 tibi molestum β, π (tibi) | casus tuos et nomen βπ 13 necessitas β | nobilitas β | Tarso βMπ.

## RA 16

16. Apollonius vero universos casus suos exposuit et finito sermone lacrimas effundere coepit. Quem ut vidit rex flentem, respiciens filiam suam ait: “Nata dulcis, peccasti, quae, dum nomen et casus adolescentis agnosceres, veteres ei renovasti dolores. Ergo, dulcis et sapiens  
5 filia, ex quo agnovisti veritatem, iustum est, ut ei liberalitatem tuam uasi regina ostendas”. Puella vero respiciens Apollonium ait: “Iam noster es, iuvenis, depone maerorem; et quia permittit indulgentia patris mei, locupletabo te”. Apollonius vero cum gemitu egit gratias. Rex vero videns tantam bonitatem filiae suae valde gavisus est et ait  
10 ad eam: “Nata dulcis, me salvum habeas. Iube tibi afferre lyram et aufer iuveni lacrimas et exhilara ad convivium”. Puella vero iussit sibi afferri lyram. At ubi accedens <ac>cepit, cum nimia dulcedine vocis chordarum sonos, melos cum voce miscebat. Omnes convivae coeperunt mirari dicentes: “Non potest esse melius, non dulcius plus isto,  
15 quod audivimus!” Inter quos solus tacebat Apollonius. Ad quem rex ait: “Apolloni, foedam rem facis. Omnes filiam meam in arte musica laudant. Quare tu solus tacendo vituperas?” Apollonius ait: “Domine rex, si permittis, dicam, quid sentio: filia enim tua in arte musica incidit, <sed non didicit>. Denique iube mihi dari lyram et statim  
20 scias, quod ante nesciebas”. Rex Arc<hi>strates dixit: “Apolloni, ut intelligo, in omnibus es locuples”. Et <ind>uit stat<u>m et corona caput coronavit, et accipiens lyram introivit triclinium. Et ita fecit, ut discumbentes non Apollonium, sed Apollinem existimarent. Atque ita facto silentio  
25 “arripuit plectrum a<n>imumque accomoda<t> arti”.

RA 16 is continued on page 140

## P

4 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,3 Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem 25 Vnde noster hauerit, non liquet: fort. ex suo prompsit ingenio.

3 que (i.q. quae) P: quod *Riese*, om. *Ring*, vix recte | e' (i.q. eius) nomen P: eius *del. Schmeling* (1994), 143; alii alia (cf. ed. m.) 10 me salvum habeas P, cf. 14, RA 2: me *del. iniuria Riese*, edd. 11 ad convivium P, *retinui*: [ad] *Schmeling* (1994) 143 12 accepit Rα (cf. ed.m.), *Riese*, *Hunt* (1994) 312: cepit P 13 melos cum voce *interpolata cense* *sent Ring*, *Riese* 14 non est dulcius P: [est] *Schmeling* (1988) 18 quid P: quod *Ring*, *Riese* 19 sed non didicit Rα (cf. ed.m.), *Riese*: om. P 20 scias P: scies *Ring*, *Riese* | Arcestrates P 21 induit Rα(F), *Riese*: movit P | statum *Ring*, *Riese*: statim P, Rα(F) | caput *Riese*: eum capite P 22 fecit P: stetit *Hunt* (1994) 306 25 avimumque accomodans P, *corr. Riese*

## RB 16

16. Tunc ille universos casus suos exposuit. Finitoque sermonis conloquio fundere lacrimas coepit. Quem ut vidit rex flentem, respiciens filiam ait: “Nata dulcis, peccasti. Dum vis nomen et casus adolescentis scire, veteres ei renovasti dolores. Peto itaque, domina, ut quicquid vis, iuveni dones”. Puella ut vidit sibi a patre ultro permissum, quod ipsa praestare volebat, respiciens iuvenem ait: “Apolloni, noster es: depone maerorem et, quia patris mei indulgentia permittit, locupletabo te”. Apollonius cum gemitu et verecundia gratias egit. Rex gavisus tantam filiae suae benignitatem ait: “Nata dulcissima, salvum habeas. Defer lyram et aufer iuveni lacrimas: exhilara convivium”. Puella iussit sibi lyram adferri. At ubi accepit eam, nimia dulcedine chordarum miscuit sonum. Omnes laudare coeperunt et dicere: “Non potest melius! Non potest dulcius!” Apollonius tacebat. Rex ait: “Apolloni, foedam rem facis. Omnes filiam meam in arte musica laudant: tu solus tacendo vituperas”. Apollonius ait: Bone rex, si permittis, dicam, quod sentio. Filia tua in arte musica incidit, sed non didicit. Denique iube mihi tradi lyram et scies, quod nescis”. Rex Archistrates ait: “Apolloni, intelligo te in omnibus locupletem”. Et iussit ei tradi lyram. Egressus foras Apollonius induit statum, corona caput decoravit. Et accipiens lyram introivit triclinium. Et ita stetit, ut omnes non Apollonium, sed Apollinem aestimarent. Atque ita silentio facto “arripuit plectrum animumque accomodat arti”.

RB 16 is continued on page 141

## bβπ

1 casus suos universos π | sermone et βπ 2 fundere lacrimas bβ: flere π 4 Pete b | quodcumque π 5 ultro a patre π 7 indulgentia patris mei π 9 tanta ... benignitate β, π (de t.b.) 10 Defer ergo π | Exhilara b, β (a. corr.): et exhilare β<sup>1</sup>π 13 dulcius: audiri *man. rec. add. in marg.* β 14 musica b:om. βπ 15 vituperas. b: vituperas? βπ, *Schmeling* (1994) 389 16 in artem musicam βπ | sed non b: non βπ 17 tradi: om. π | scias βπ | quod b: quid βπ | nescis b: nesciat βπ 18 ei b: sibi βπ 19 statum βπ: statum comicum Va, β<sup>11</sup> (comicum *man. rec. add. in marg.* β): statim b | coronam capud b, caput corona π 20 accipiens (*ex -iet*) b | ut (*ex et*) b 22 animum βπ | accomodat *Ring, Riese, Hunt* (1980) n.22: – ns P.

## RA 16

Miscetur vox cantu modulata chordis. Discumbentes una cum rege in laude clamare coeperunt et dicere: “Non potest melius, non potest dulcius!” Post haec deponens lyram ingreditur in comico habitu et mirabili manu et saltu inauditas actiones expressit. Post haec induit  
30 tragicum et nihilominus admirabiliter complacuit ita, ut omnes amici regis et hoc se numquam audisse testantur nec vidisse.

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**29** et saltu et P, *corr. Riese* **31** testantur P, *retinui*: testentur Ring, testarentur Riese, *edd.*

## RB 16

Miscetur vox cantu modulata cum chordis. Discumbentes una cum  
 rege magna voce clamoris laudare coeperunt. Post haec deponens  
 lyram induit statum comicum et inauditas actiones expressit. Deinde 25  
 induit tragicum. Nihilominus mirabiliter placet.

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23 Miscetur β<sup>1</sup> (*ex: atis miscetur*): artis miscetur. b, ut his misceretur π | cantu bπ:  
 cantō β ( o *expunctum*), cantui *in marg.* β (*man. rec.*) 24 maxima βπ 25 expres b  
 26 induit: *om.* b | tragicum b, *in marg.* β (*man. rec.*): trahicum βπ 26 nihil ominis b |  
 placebat π.

## RA 17

17. Inter haec filia regis, ut vidit iuvenem omnium artium studiorum-  
que esse cumulatum, vulner<is> saevo capitur igne. Incidit in amorem.  
Et finito convivio sic ait puella ad patrem suum: "Permiseras mihi  
paulo ante, ut si quid voluissem, de tuo tamen, Apollonio darem, rex  
5 et pater optime". Cui dixit: "Et permisi et permitto et opto". Permisso  
sibi a patre, quod ipsa ultro praestare volebat, intuens Apollonium ait:  
"Apolloni magister, accipe indulgentia patris mei ducenta talenta auri,  
argenti pondera XL, servos XX et vestem copiosissimam". Et intuens  
famulos, quos donaverat, dixit: "Afferte quaeque promisi, et praesenti-  
10 bus omnibus exponite in triclinio". Laudant omnes liberalitatem  
puellae. Peractoque convivio levaverunt se universi; valedicentes regi  
et reginae discesserunt. Ipse quoque Apollonius ait: "Bone rex,  
miserorum misericors, et tu, regina, amatrix studiorum, valet". Et  
haec dicens respiciens famulos, quos illi puella donaverat, ait: "Tolli-  
15 te, famuli, h<aec>, qu<ae> mihi regina donavit: aurum, argentum et  
vestem: et eamus hospitalia quaerentes". Puella vero timens, ne  
amatum non videns torqueretur, respexit patrem suum et ait: "Bone  
rex, pater optime, placet tibi, ut hodie Apollonius a nobis locupletatus  
abscedat, et quod illi dedisti, a malis hominibus ei rapiatur?" Cui rex  
20 ait: "Bene dicis, domina: iube ergo ei dari unam zetam, ubi digne  
quiescat". Accepta igitur mansione Apollonius bene acceptus requievit,  
agens deo gratias, qui ei non denegavit regem consolationem.

## P

2 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 4,2 (*Dido*) caeco carpitur igni.

2 vulneris *Ring, Riese*: vulnere P | capitur P, *Ring, Riese*: carpitur *edd. recentes* | igne  
*Ring, Riese*: ignem P | amorem infinitum P, *Ra, Ring*: infinitum *del. Riese, alii, ortum*  
*ex sequenti* 3 finito 5 Permisso *Va*: Premisso P 6 intuens puella *Va* 8 argenti ... copi-  
osissimam P: argenti libras quadraginta, vestem copiosam, servos XX, X ancillas *Ra*  
9 famulos *scripsi*: A (*i.q.* Apollonii) famulos P, *sed scriptura incerta (cf. ed. m.)* |  
quaeque P, *scribens q*; (*i.q.* quaecumque): quaequae *Ring, Schmeling (1988)* 10 expo-  
nit P 15 hec que *Ra(LG)*: hos quos P, hoc quod *Ring, Riese* 16 ne *Ring, Riese*: ut P  
22 consolationem P, *Ra(F)*: consolatorem *Ring, Riese, alii*.

## RB 17

17. Puella ut vidit iuvenem omnium artium studiorumque cumulatum, incidit in amorem. Finito convivio puella respiciens patrem ait: "Care genitor, permiseras mihi paulo ante, ut quicquid voluissem, de tuo tamen, Apollonio darem". Rex ait: "Et permisi et permitto". Puella intuens Apollonium ait: "Apolloni magister, accipe ex indulgentia 5 patris mei auri talenta ducenta, argenti pondus XL et vestem copiosam, servos XX ". Et ait ad famulos: "Adferte praesentibus amicis, quae Apollonio magistro meo promisi et in triclinio ponite". Iussu reginae inlata sunt omnia. Laudant omnes liberalitatem puellae. Peracto convivio levaverunt se omnes; valedicentes regi et reginae 10 discessi sunt. Ipse quoque Apollonius ait: "Bone rex, miserorum misericors, et tu, regina, amatrix studiorum, valet". Et respiciens famulos, quos sibi puella donaverat, ait: "Tollite, famuli, haec, quae mihi regina donavit, et eamus: hospitalia requiramus". Puella timens, 15 ne amatum non videns torqueretur, respiciens patrem ait: "Bone rex et pater optime, placet tibi, ut Apollonius hodie a nobis ditatus abscedat, et, quod illi donasti, a malis hominibus rapiatur?" Rex ait: "Bene dicis, domina" et confestim iubet ei adsignari zetam, ubi digne quiesceret.

## bβ(M)π

1 *audivit b, quod defendi potest* 2 *amorem eius π* | Finitoque π 4 *tamen: om. βπ* 6 *pondus b: pondo βπ* 7 *et (servos) M, Riese, Tsitsikli, alii* 9 *Laudant ... liberalitatem: libertatem omnes laudant π, cf. 10, RB 17* 10 *se: om. βπ* 11 *discesserunt βMπ* | Ipse quoque Apollonius β: Appollonius igitur βπ 12 *amatrix b: ornatrix βπ* 13 *haec: om. π* 14 *donavit regina π* 15 *non videns βπ: invidens b | et: b postea add.* 16 *placetne βπ* 17-18 *Benedicis bβπ* 18 *adsignari zeta b: adsignatam (+ tradi π) zetam βπ.*



## RA 18

18. Sed 'regina' sui 'iamdudum saucia cura' Apollonii 'figit in pectore  
vulnus, verba' cantusque memor 'credit genus esse deorum', nec  
somnum oculis nec 'membris dat <c>ura quietem'. Vigilans primo mane  
irrupit cubiculum patris. Pater videns filiam ait: "Filia dulcis, quid  
5 est, quod tam mane praeter consuetudinem vigilasti?" Puella ait:  
"Hesterna studia me excitaverunt. Peto itaque, pater, ut me tradas  
hospiti nostro Apollonio studiorum percipiendorum gratia". Rex vero  
gaudio plenus iussit ad se iuvenem vocari. Cui sic ait: "Apolloni,  
studiorum tuorum felicitatem filia mea a te discere concupivit. Peto  
10 itaque et iuro tibi per regni mei vires, ut, <si> desiderio natae meae  
parueris, quicquid tibi iratum abstulit mare, ego in terris restituum".  
Apollonius hoc audito docet puellam, sicuti et ipse d<i>dic<e>rat.  
Interposito brevi tempor<is> spatio, cum non posset puella ulla ratione  
vulnus amoris tollerare, in multa infirmitate membra prostravit flux<a,  
15 et> coepit iacere imbecillis in thoro. Rex ut vidit filiam suam subita-  
neam valitudinem incurrisse, sollicitus adhibet medicos. Qui venientes  
medici temptant venas, tangunt singulas corporis partes, nec omnino  
inveniunt aegritudinis causas.

## VaP

1-3 Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 4,1 At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura (2) vulnus alit ... (4) ...  
haerent infixi pectore vultus (5) verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem  
... (12) credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum 13-18 cf. Apul.,  
*Met.* 10,2; (*multo similis*) Heliod., 3,7,1-2; 3,18,2; 4,5,2; 4,7,3-4.

1-3 *Riesium* (1893) *particulas versuum inesse ratum secutus sum, interdum difficiles distinc-*  
*tu* 1 sui *retinui*, cf. Apollonii Rα (*videas Schmeling [1994] 144*): gravi *Tsitsliki* (1981),  
*Hunt* (1983) 332, *alii*; *del. Klebs*, 283 | Apollonii Rα (cf. *ed.m.*), *Riese*: Apolonio P  
2 vulnus P, *Ring*, cf. 18, RB 2: vultus *Riese*, *alii*, cf. Verg. l.l. | verba P: verbaque *Riese*  
3 sompnium Va<sup>c</sup> | dat cura Rα: datura VaP 6 Externa P (*i.q.* Hesterna) | excita-  
verunt Rα, *Riese*: ēxcitaverunt P (*i.q.* exercitaverunt), *Ring* 9-11 Peto itaque ... par-  
ueris: *totam sententiam turbatam censens Riese coni.*: Peto itaque ut desiderio natae meae  
parueris, et iuro tibi per regni mei vires 10 ut, si *Hunt* (1980) 28-29, *laudans* 22, RA  
15: si *Tsitsliki* (1981); ut P, *Ring* 11 parueris *Ring*, *Riese*: paraveris P 12 didicerat  
Rα: dedicarat P 13 temporis Rα: -re P 14-15 fluxa et *Riese*: fluxie P 16-17 Qui  
venientes medici P, *Ring*, cf. *LHS II* 563: Qui venientes Rα, *Hunt* (1984) 354-6,  
*Schmeling* (1984); venientes medici *del. Riese* 17 temptant Rα(F), *Heraeus*, *alii* (*trico-*  
*lon*): temptantes P.

## RB 18

18. Sed puella Archistrat<i>s ab amore incensa inquietam habuit noc-  
tem; ‘figit in pectore vulnus, verba’ cantusque memor. Quaerit Apol-  
lonium et non sustinet amorem. Prima luce vigilat, irrupit cubiculum  
patris, sedet super thorum. Pater videns filiam ait: “Cara dulcis, quid  
est hoc, quod praeter consuetudinem tuam mane vigilasti?” Puella ait: 5  
“Hesterna studia me excitaverunt. Peto itaque, pater carissime, ut me  
hospiti nostro studiorum percipiendorum gratia tradas”. Rex gaudio  
plenus iussit ad se iuvenem rogari. Cui ait: “Apolloni, studiorum  
tuorum felicitatem filia mea a te discere concupivit. Itaque si desiderio  
natae meae parueris, iuro te per regni mei vires, quia quicquid tibi 10  
mare abstulit, ego in terris restituiam”. Apollonius hoc audito docet  
puellam, sicut ipse didicerat.  
Interposito pauci temporis spatio, cum non possit puella ulla ratione  
amoris sui vulnus tolerare, simulata infirmitate coepit iacere. Rex ut  
vidit filiam suam subitanam valitudinem incurrisse, sol<i>cite> adhibuit 15  
medicos. At illi temptant venas, tangunt singulas partes corporis:  
aegritudinis nullam causam inveniunt.

## bβ(M)π

1 Archistratis (*nom.*) scripsi, cf. supra n.54. Archistratis (*gen.*!) Schmeling (1994) 390-2.  
In codd. maxima confusio: Archistrates b, Archistratis (β<sup>1</sup> [ex- chi-], Achi- π) filia βπ  
2 vulnus codd., Riese, cf. RA | verba cantusque memor b, cf. RA: verbaque memor β,  
verbique m. π 3 vigilat b: dum vigilat βπ 4 sedit βπ | tronium π | Cara bβπ: Nata  
Riese, alii 7 gaudia β (*a. corr.*) 8 rogari b, β (*a. corr.*): vocari β<sup>1</sup>π 9 tuorum: om. b |  
concupiscit π | Itaque si M: Itaque bβπ 10 parueris b: si parueris βπ | iuro te b, dubi-  
tante retinui (cf. ed. m.): iuro βMπ 11 tibi quicquid β: quicquid b 13 parvi π | cum iam  
βπ | posset βπ | ulla: om. π 14 tolerare bβ: inferre π 15 sollicite βπ: solito b 16 tempt-  
tant ... tangunt bβ: tangunt ... temptant π | venas b<sup>1</sup> superscrips., βπ: om. b.

## RA 19

19. Rex autem post paucos dies tenens Apollonium manu forum petit et cum eo deambulavit. Iuvenes scholastici III nobilissimi, qui p<er> longum tempus filiam eius petebant in matrimonium, pariter omnes una voce salutaverunt eum. Quos videns rex subridens ait illis: “Quid est hoc, quod una voce me pariter salutastis?” Vnus ex ipsis ait: “Petentibus nobis filiam vestram in matrimonium tu saepius nos differendo fatigas: propter quod hodie una simul venimus. Elige ex nobis, quem vis habere generum”. Rex ait: “Non apto tempore me interpellastis: filia enim mea studiis vacat et prae amore studiorum imbecillis iacet. Sed ne videar vos diutius differre, scribite in codicellos nomina vestra et dotis quantitatem, et dirigo ipsos codicellos filiae meae, et illa sibi eligat, quem voluerit habere maritum”. Illi tres itaque iuvenes scripserunt nomina sua et dotis quantitatem. Rex accepit codicellos anuloque suo signavit datque Apollonio dicens: “Tolle, 15 magister, praeter tui contumeliam hos codicellos et perfer discipulae tuae: hic enim locus te desiderat!”

## P

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1 Rex Rex P (cf. *ed.m.*) 2 per Rα, *edd.*: post P, *quod defendi potest* 6 vestram P: tuam Rα, *sed cf.* 37, RA 17 15 perfer Rα(F): prefer P.

## RB 19

19. Post paucos dies rex tenens manum Apollonii forum civitatis ingreditur. Et dum cum eo deambulabat, iuvenes nobilissimi tres, qui per longum tempus filiam eius in matrimonio petierant, regem una voce pariter salutaverunt. Quos ut vidit rex, subridens ait: “Quid est, quod una voce pariter salutastis?” Vnus ex illis ait: “Petentibus nobis 5 filiam tuam in matrimonio saepius differendo crucias; propter quod hodie simul venimus. Cives tui sumus, locupletes, bonis natalibus geniti. Itaque de tribus elige unum, quem vis habere generum”. Rex ait: “Non apto tempore interpellastis. Filia enim mea studio vacat et pro amore studiorum inbecillis iacet. Sed ne videar vos saepe differre, 10 scribite in codicellis nomina vestra et dotis quantitatem; mitto filiae meae, ut ipsa eligat, quem voluerit”. Scripserunt illi nomina sua et dotis quantitatem. Rex accepit codicellos et anulo suo signavit et dat Apollonio dicens: “Sine contumelia tua hos codicellos perfer discipulae tuae: hic enim locus te desiderat!” 15

**bβ(M)π**

2 deambulat βπ 3 per bβ<sup>1</sup>: post β(a. corr.), π 3 matrimonium βπ, item 6 | petierant M: petierunt b 4 salutaverunt ... 5 salutastis: salutaverant β<sup>1</sup> (ex salutatis), cf. ed.m., n.287 5 quod: hoc quod π | pariter b: me pariter π 6 crucias bβ<sup>1</sup>: cruciaris β (a. corr.), π (vel crucias nos *superscripts*. π<sup>2</sup>) 7 simul hodie b 8 unum elige βπ | vis bβ: volueris π 9 mea: om. π 10 inbecillis: inbellicis b (*metathesis*) | sepius βπ 11 mitto b, Hunt (1980) 30: mittite β, π (miti-) 13 suo om. b, ut videtur.

## RA 20

20. Apollonius acceptis codicillis pergit domum regiam et introivit cubiculum tradiditque codicillos. Puella patris agnovit signaculum. Quae <ad a>mores suos sic ait: “Quid est, magister, quod sic singularis cubiculum introisti?” Cui Apollonius respondit: “Domina, e<s> nondum  
 5 mulier et male habes! Sed potius accipe codicillos patris tui et lege trium nomina petitorum”. Puella vero reserato codicillo legit, perlectoque nomen ibidem non legit, quem volebat et amabat. Et respiciens Apollonium ait: “Magister Apolloni, ita tibi non dolet, quod ego nubam?” Apollonius dixit: “Immo gratulor, quod habundantia horum  
 10 studiorum docta et a me patefacta, deo volente et cui animus tuus desiderat, nubas”. Cui puella ait: “Magister, si amares, utique doleres tuam doctrinam”. Et scripsit codicellos et signato<s> sui anulo iuveni tradidit. Pertulit Apollonius in forum tradiditque regi. Accepto codicillo rex resignavit et aperuit illum. In quibus rescripserat filia sua:  
 15 “Bone rex et pater optime, quoniam clementiae tuae indulgentia permittis mihi, dicam: illum volo coniugem naufragio patrimonio deceptum. Et si miraris, pater, quod tam pudica virgo tam impudenter scripserim: per ceram mandavi, quae pudorem non habet”.

## P

17-18 Cf. Ovid., *Met.* 9,514; (*multo strictius*) Xen. Eph. 1,5,1.

1 pergit P, *Riese*: pergit ad Va, *Ring* 2-3 signaculum. Quae ad amores *Riese*: signaculumque mores P 4 es Rα(LGAttr): et P 10 patefacta (*nom.*) *Riese*: patefactam P, patefactā (*sc.* abundantia) *Ring* 12 signatos Rα: signato P | sui P: suo Rα(F), *edd.*, *fort. melius*: 17 tam pudica P, *Ring*: [tam] pudica Rα(F), *Riese*, *alii* | impudenter Rα(F), *Riese*, *alii*: imprudenter P, *Ring*, cf. 20, RB 14 (b) 18 ceram Rα(F), *Ring*, *Riese*: certam licteram P, *ortum ex interpretatione vocis* ceram.

## RB 20

20. Apollonius acceptis codicellis petiit domum regiam. Intravit  
 cubiculum. Puella ut vidit amores suos ait: “Quid est, magister, quod  
 singularis cubiculum introisti?” Apollonius ait: “Domina, nondum  
 mulier et mala! Sume potius codicellos, quos tibi pater tuus misit, et  
 lege”. Puella accepit et legit trium nomina petitorum, sed nomen non  
 legit, quem volebat. Perlectis codicellis respiciens Apollonium ait:  
 “Magister, ita tibi non dolet, quod ego nubo?” Apollonius ait: “Immo  
 gratulor, quod habundantia studiorum perita me volente nubes”. Puella  
 ait: “Si amares, doleres”. Haec dicens instante amoris audacia scripsit  
 et signatos codicellos iuveni tradidit. Pertulit Apollonius in foro et  
 tradidit regi. Scripserat autem sic: “Bone rex et pater optime, quoniam  
 clementiae tuae indulgentia permittit mihi, ut dicam: Illum volo  
 coniugem, naufragum a fortuna deceptum. Et si miraris, pater, quod  
 pudica virgo tam impudenter scripserim: quia prae pudore indicare  
 non potui, per ceram mandavi, quae ruborem non habet”.

## bβ(M)π

9 Cf. Ovid., *Met.* 4,96 audacem faciebat amor 15 Cf. Cic., *Ad fam.* 5,12,1 epistula enim non erubescit; Ambros., *De virg.* 1,1,1 liber enim non erubescit.

1 Introivit βπ 2-3 Puella ... Apollonius: *om.* π 3 singularis bβ<sup>1</sup>: -e β (*a. corr.*) | ait bβ: et ait puelle π 3-4 nondum mulier et mala b, β (*a. corr.*): nondum mulier π, nondum ... mala *expunx.* β<sup>1</sup> 4 potius: *om.* π 5 petentium nomina π 6 quem bπ: quod β (*ex quem*) 7 ita tibi βπ, Va: tibi b 8 nubis βπ 9 audacia b: audacia sua β; audacia, sua manu π 10 signavit codicellos. Iuveni (β, et i. π) βπ 11 autem bβ: hec π 12 dicam b: dicam quem volo βM, *Schmeling*; dicam que volo π 12-13 volo coniugem βMπ, Va: vere b 13 miraris bβ<sup>1</sup>: misereris β (*a. corr.*), π 14 imprudenter b | iudicare b.

## RA 21

21. Et perlectos codicillos rex ignorans, quem naufragum diceret, respiciens illos tres iuvenes, qui nomina sua scripserant vel qui dotem in illos codicillos designaverant, ait illis: “Quis vestrum naufragium fecit?” Vnus vero ex iis Ardalion nomine dixit: “Ego”. Alius ait:
- 5 “Tace, morbus te consumit nec salvus es, cum scio te coetaneum meum et mecum litteris eruditum et portam civitatis numquam existi: ubi ergo naufragium fecisti?” Et cum rex non inveniret, quis eorum naufragium fecisset, respiciens Apollonium ait: “Tolle, magister Apolloni, hos codicillos et lege. Potest enim fieri, ut quod ego non
- 10 inveni, tu intelligas, quia praesens fuisti”. Apollonius accepto codicillo legit et ut sensit se a regina amari, erubuit. Et rex tenens ei manum paululum secessit ab eis iuvenibus et ait: “Quid est, magister Apolloni, invenisti naufragum?” Apollonius ait: “Bone rex, si permittis, inveni”. Et his dictis videns rex faciem eius roseo colore perfusam, intellexit
- 15 dictum et ait gaudens: “Quod filia mea cupit, hoc est et meum votum”. [Nichil enim in huiusmodi negotio sine deo agi potest.] Et respiciens illos tres iuvenes ait: “Certe dixi vobis, quia non apto tempore interpellastis. Ite, et dum tempus fuerit, mittam ad vos”. Et dimisit eos a se.

## VaP

14 Cf. Vulg., *Esth.* 15, 8 ipsa autem roseo vultu colore (vultum colore GΦ: colore vultum c) perfusa.

1 diceret Rα: disceret P 2-3 vel qui dotem in illos codicillos designaverant: *utpote glossema* ex 19, RA 11 *petitum del. Klebs* 267, *fort. iniuria* 4 ex iis Ring, Riese, cf. ex eis Rα: exiens P | Ardalion Rα, Ring (‘Busy body’), cf. 39, RB 26: Ardalion Riese, Sardalion P 5 consumit ... es P: consumat ... sis Rα, *edd.* | cum scio *edd.*: cum sciam Rα(F), cum socio P 7 fecisset *edd.*: faceret P 9 ut Rα(F), *edd.*: et P 13 naufragum Rα, *edd.*: naufragium P 16 Nichil ... potest P, Ring, Riese: *del. Klebs* (35, 218, 279) *utpote ortum ex falsa interpretatione vocis votum (i.q. desiderium): seclusi* 17 illos tres Rα(F), Riese, *edd. plerique*, cf. 19, RA 2; 21, RA 2: illustres P, Ring.

## RB 21

21. Rex perlectis codicellis ignorans, quem naufragum diceret, respiciens tres iuvenes ait: "Quis vestrum naufragium fecit?" Vnus ex his Ardaleo nomine ait: "Ego". Alius ait: "Tace, morbo te consumis. Mecum litteras didicisti, portam civitatis numquam existi: quando naufragium fecisti?" Rex cum non invenisset, quis eorum naufragium 5 fecisset, respiciens Apollonium ait: "Tolle codicellos et lege. Potest enim fieri, ut quod ego non intelligo, tu intelligas, qui interfuisti". Apollonius acceptis codicellis velociter percurrit et, ut sensit se amari, erubuit. Rex comprehendit Apollonii manum; paululum quidem ab illis iuvenibus secedens ait: "Apolloni, invenisti naufragum?" Apollonius 10 ait: "Bone rex, si permittis, inveni". Et his dictis videns rex faciem eius roseo rubore perfusam, intellexit dictum et ait: "Gaudio sum plenus, quod filia mea concupivit te. Et meum votum est. Peto itaque, ne fastidias nuptias natae meae". Et respiciens iuvenes illos ait: "Certe dixi vobis: cum nubendi tempus fuerit, mittam ad vos". Et dimisit eos 15 a se.

bβπ

2 his bβ: eis π 3 morbus te consumat bπ 4 quando b: quomodo βπ 8 amare b 9 comprehendit manum Appollonii βπ | paululum quidem b: et paululum π, paululum β 11 Bone rex *codd.* | permittis b (*ex* -tes) 12-13 Gaudio sum plenus β, π (plenus s.): Gaudeo plenius b 13 meum bπ: mecum β | Permitto b 14 iuvenes (*ex* -is) b 15 cum nubendi tempus fuerit, mittam b, *cf.* RA 18: eam, nubendi cum tempus fuerit, mittam βπ.



## RA 22

22. Et tenens manum iam genero, non hospiti, ingreditur domum regiam. Ipso autem Apollonio relicto rex solus intrat ad filiam suam dicens: “Dulcis nata, quem tibi elegisti coniugem?” Puella vero prostravit se ad pedes patris sui et ait: “Pater carissime, quia cupis audire natae tuae desiderium: illum volo coniugem et amo: patrimonio deceptum et naufragum, magistrum meum Apollonium; cui si non me tradideris, a praesenti perdes filiam!” Et cum rex filiae non posset ferre lacrimas, erexit eam et alloquitur dicens: “Nata dulcis, noli de aliqua re cogitare, quia talem concupisti, [ad] quem ego, ex quo eum vidi, tibi coniungere adoptavi. Sed ego tibi vere consentio, quia et ego amando factus sum pater!”
- Et exiens foris respiciens Apollonium ait: “Magister Apolloni, quia scrutavi filiam meam, quid ei in animo resideret nuptiarum causa, lacrimis fuis multa inter alia mihi narravit dicens et adiurans me ait: “Turaveras magistro meo Apollonio, ut, si desideris meis <in> doctrinis paruisset, dares illi quicquid iratum abstulit mare. Modo vero, quia paruit <ét> tuis praeceptis <in> obsequiis ab ipso tibi factis ét meae voluntati in doctrinis: aurum, argentum, vestes, mancipia aut possessiones non quaerit, nisi solum regnum, quod putaverat perdidisse: tuo sacramento per meam iu<nct>ionem hoc ei tradas!” Vnde, magister Apolloni, p<e>to, ne nuptias filiae meae fastidio habeas!” Apollonius ait: “Quod a deo est, sit, et si tua est voluntas, impleatur!” Rex ait: “Diem nuptiarum sine mora statuam!”

## P

9 aliqua P,Rα, Ring: alia coni. Riese | quem Ring: ad quem P 10 adoptavi P, Ring: optavi Rα(LGAttr), Riese, Klebs, 36 13 causā scripsi: causam P 15 in add. Riese, probante Klebs, 36 n.10: vel P, Rα, Ring 17 <ét> tuis praeceptis [et] scripsi: tuis preceptis et P, Rα; tuis preceptis Klebs, 36: in add. Heraeus (1893) ad loc. 18 mancipia Rα: mancipias P, fort. retinendum 20 per meam iunctionem hoc scripsi ex Rα: per meam iusionem me (sc. tradas) P (a. ras.: iussione /// ne P), Va, Ring, Riese 21 peto Rα, Ring, Riese: puto P 22 Quod a deo est, sit, et del. Schmeling (1988): in promptu, sed vix recte, cf. 20, RA 10-11 deo volente ... nubas: vide fusius Introd. II.3 | sit P, Rα: fit coni. Riese 22-23 Rex ... statuam: huc transposui: Riese (1893), p.41,21 haec verba sequenti capiti attribuit (cf. ed.m.).

## RB 22

22. Ipse autem comprehendit manum iam non hospitis, sed generis  
 sui. Intravit in domum regiam. Et relicto Apollonio intravit rex solus  
 ad filiam suam et ait: “Nata dulcis, quem tibi coniugem elegisti?”  
 Puella prostravit se pedibus patris et ait: “Pater piissime, quia cupis  
 audire desiderium filiae tuae: amo naufragum a fortuna deceptum. Sed 5  
 ne teneam pietatem tuam ambiguitate sermonum: Apollonium Tyrium,  
 praeceptorem meum. Cui si me non dederis, amisisti filiam!” Rex non  
 sustinens filiae suae lacrimas, motus pietate ait: “Et ego, dulcis filia,  
 amando factus sum pater! Diem ergo nuptiarum sine mora statuum.”

bβπ

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1 hospiti b generi π 3 suam b 5 desiderium b: consilium βπ | amo Apollonium π  
 8 filia om. π 9 factus sum pater. b: facturus sum. Pater βπ | Ergo sine mora diem  
 nuptiarum βπ | statuum b: statuit βπ (cf. ed. m.)

## RA 23

- 23.** Postera vero die vocantur amici, invocantur vicinarum urbium potestates, viri magni atque nobiles. Quibus convocatis in unum pariter rex ait: “Amici, scitis, quare vos in unum congregaverim?” Qui respondentes dixerunt: “Nescimus”. Rex ait: “Scitote filiam meam  
 5 velle nubere Tyrio Apollonio. Peto, ut omnibus sit laetitia, quia filia mea sapientissima sociatur viro prudentissimo”. Inter haec diem nuptiarum sine mora indicit et quando in unum se coniungerent, praecepit.
- Quid multa? Dies supervenit nuptiarum, omnes laeti atque alacres in  
 10 unum conveniunt. Gaudet rex cum filia, gaudet et Tyrius Apollonius, qui talem meruit habere coniugem. Celebrantur nuptiae regio more, decora dignitate. Gaudet universa civitas, exultant cives, peregrini et hospites. Fit magnum gaudium in citharis, lyris et canticis et organis modulatis cum vocibus.
- 15 Peracta laetitia ingens amor fit inter coniuges, mirus affectus, incomparabilis dilectio, inaudita laetitia, quae perpetua caritate complectitur.

## P

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**9** laeti atque alacres, *cf.* Apul., *Met.* 1,17 Emergo laetus atque alacer **13-14** in ... organis modulatis cum vocibus: Pass. Agn. c.3 (AASS Ian. XI, 351) organa modulatis vocibus resonant; Pass. Eugen. (PL 21, 1109<sup>c</sup>) modulatis vocibus psallunt.

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**1** invocantur P, *cf. gr.* (προσ)καλέω ‘invite’: invitantur Rα, *coni. Riese, alii.*

## RB 23

**23.** Postera die vocantur amici, vicinarum urbium potestates. Quibus consedentibus ait: “Amici, quare vos in unum convocaverim, discite. Sciatis velle filiam meam nubere Apollonium, praeceptorem suum. Peto, ut omnium laetitia sit, quia filia mea virum prudentem sortita est”. Et haec dicens diem nuptiarum indicit.

5

Numerat<ur> dos amplissima, convivia prolixa tenduntur. Celebrantur nuptiae regia dignitate.

Ingens inter coniuges amor, mirus affectus, incomparabilis dilectio, inaudita laetitia.

bβπ

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**1** potentes βπ **2** consedentibus b; -si- βπ | vocaverim βπ **3** Appollonio preceptori suo βπ **6** Numeratur dos RBern, cf. 33, RB 13; Numerator dos Va et Klebs, 101 n.3; Numerato domus b; Muneratur domus βπ, Riese, Schmeling (1988) | amplissima codd.: -e Riese, Schmeling (1988) | conviva b | prolixa bβ, prolata π.

## RA 24

24. Interpositis autem diebus atque mensibus, cum haberet puella mense iam sexto, eius ventriculum deformatum est. Advenit eius sponsus, rex Apollonius. Cum spatiatur in littore iuncta sibi puellula, vidit navem speciosissimam, et dum utrique eam laudarent pariter, 5 recognovit eam Apollonius de sua esse patria. Conversus ait ad gubernatorem: "Dic mihi, si valeas, unde venisti?" Gubernator ait: "De Tyro". Apollonius ait: "Patriam meam nominasti". Ad quem gubernator ait: "Ergo tu Tyrius es?" Apollonius ait: "Vt dicis; sic sum". Gubernator ait: "Vere mihi dignare dicere: noveras aliquem patriae illius principem, Apollonium nomine?" Apollonius ait: "Vt me 10 ipsum, sic illum novi". Gubernator non intellexit dictum et ait: "Sic ego rogo, ut, ubicumque eum videris, dic illi: "Laetare et gaude, quia rex saevissimus Antiochus cum filia sua concumbens, dei fulmine percussus est. Opes autem et regnum eius servantur regi Apollonio". 15 Apollonius autem ut audivit, gaudio <plenus> conversus dixit ad coniugem: "Domina, quod aliquando mihi naufrago credideras, modo comprobasti. <Peto itaque>, coniunx carissima, ut me permittas proficere ad regnum devotum percipere". Coniunx vero eius ut audivit eum velle proficere, profusis lacrimis ait: "Care coniunx, si alicubi in 20 longinquo esses itinere constitutus, certe ad partum meum festinare debueras. Nunc vero, cum sis praesens, disponis me derelinquere? Pariter navigemus: ubicumque fueris, seu in terris seu in mari, vita vel mors ambos nos capiat!" Et haec dicens puella venit ad patrem suum, cui sic ait: "Care genitor, laetare et gaude, quia saevissimus rex 25 Antiochus cum filia sua concumbens a deo percussus est. Opes autem eius <cum> diademate coniugi meo servatae sunt. Propter quod rogo te satis animo lu<g>enti, permittas mihi navigare cum viro meo. Et ut libentius mihi permittas: unam remittis, en duas recipies!"

## P

22 Cf. Ovid., *Met.* 11,442 (*de Alcyone et Ceyce*): pariterque feremus / quidquid erit; pariter super aequora lata feremur.

2 eius P, *Heraeus*: eius *del. Riese, alii*; eunte *Ring, Schmeling (1988)* | deformatum est P: est *del. Ring, Riese, sed nihil mutandum* 7 Tyro Rα: Týrio P 8 Tirius Rα: Tirus P 12 ut ... dic P, *Ring, Riese (contaminatio)* | gaudere P, *corr. Riese, cf. 24* 13 concubens P, Va, *item 25, corr. edd.* 15 gaudio *plenus* Rα, *coni. Riese*: gaudio P 17 comprobasti P, *Riese*: comprobavi *coni. Riese, vix necessario* | Peto itaque Rα, *Riese*: om. P 18 proficere P (*forma vulgarior*): proficisci Rα | ad + *inf. P, retinui*: et *Ring, Riese, alii alia* 19 profusis Rα, *Tsitsikli (allato Ovid., Met. 11,418)*: perfusis P 26 cum *Ring, Riese*: in P 27 luenti P (*i.q. lugenti*), *Ring, Riese*; libenti *Klebs 19, n.2, alii* 28 liventius P | remictis P (*i.q. dimittis class.*).

## RB 24

24. Interpositis autem diebus aliquot et mensibus, cum iam puella haberet ventriculum formatum sexto mense, aestivo tempore, dum exp<a>t<i>antur in littore, vident navem speciosissimam. Et dum eam mirantur et laetantur, cognovit eam Apollonius esse de patria sua. Et conversus ad gubernatorem ait: “Dic, si valeas, unde venis?” Gubernator ait: “A Tyro”. Apollonius ait: “Patriam meam nominasti”. Gubernator ait: “Ergo Tyrius es?” Apollonius ait: “Vt dicis”. Gubernator ait: “Noveras aliquem patriae principem Apollonium nomine?” Apollonius ait: “Ac si me ipsum”. Gubernator ait: “Sicubi illum videris, dic illi, laetetur et gaude<a>t. Rex enim Antiochus fulmine percussus arsit cum filia sua. Opes autem et regnum Antiochiae Apollonio reservantur”. Apollonius ut audivit, gaudio plenus respiciens coniugem suam ait: “Domina, quod aliquando naufragum credidisti, modo conprobas. Peto itaque, cara coniunx, ut permittas mihi proficisci ad regnum accipiendum”. Puella ut vidit, profusis lacrimis ait: “Care coniunx, si in aliquo longo itinere esses, ad partum meum festinare deberes. Nunc autem, cum sis praesens, disponis me relinquere? Sed si hoc iubes, pariter navigemus!” Et veniens ad patrem ait: “Care genitor, laetare et gaude. Rex enim saevissimus Antiochus periit concumbens cum nata sua. Deus percussit eum fulmine. Opes autem regiae et diadema coniugi meo reservantur. Permite mihi navigare cum viro meo. Et ut libentius mihi permittas: unam dimittis, recipias duas!”

## bβπ

1 diebus aliquod b, β (-t): aliquot d. π | iam om. π 3 expatiantur Klebs 64, cf. RA 3: expectantur b, deambulant βπ 4 letantur b: luctantur β, simul locuntur π | eam om. βπ 5 vales βπ 6 Tyrio π 7 Tyrus π 9 Ac si bβ: Vt π 10 gaudet b 11 percussus est β (a. corr.), π; p.e. et β<sup>1</sup> 12 reservatur b 13 quod b, β (a. corr.): quem β<sup>1</sup>π | naufrago Riese 14 conprobas b, β<sup>1</sup> (ex -ba): comprobas quis est π, comprobavi Schmeling (1988) 15 percipiendum βπ, Riese | vidit b: audivit βπ, cf. app. crit. ad 17, RB 1 17 sis b: ipse sis β, hic sis π 19 gaudere b 20 concumbens cum βπ: cum concumbente b | nata bβ: filia π | eum om. b | servantur βπ 22 ut om. b | recipias b, β (a. corr.): -ies β<sup>1</sup>π.

## RA 25

25. Rex vero, ut audivit omnia, gaudens atque exhilaratus est. Et continuo iubet naves adduci in litore et omnibus bonis impleri. Praeterea nutricem eius, nomine Lycoridem, et obstetricem peritissimam propter partum eius simul navigare iussit. Et data p<ro>fectoria deduxit eos ad litus, osculatur filiam et generum et ventum eis optat prosperum. Reversus est rex ad palatium. Apollonius vero ascendit navem cum multa familia multoque apparatu atque copia, et flante vento certum iter navigant. Qui dum per aliquantos dies totidemque noctes Austri ventorum flatibus <im>pi<o> pelago detinerentur, nono mense cogente Lucina, enixa <est> puella <puellam>. Sed secundis rursum redeuntibus coagulato sanguine conclusoque spiritu subito defuncta est. (Non fuit mortua, sed quasi mortua.) Quod cum viderent familia <cum> clamore et ululatu magno, cucurrit Apollonius et vidit coniugem suam iacentem exanimem; scidit a pectore vestes unguibus et primas suae adulescentiae discerpit barbulas et lacrimis p<ro>fusus iactavit se super corpusculum et coepit amarissime flere atque dicere: “Cara coniunx, cara et unica regis filia, quid fuit de te? Quid respondebo pro te patri tuo aut quid de te proloquar, qu<ae> me naufragum suscepit pauperem et egenum?” Et cum haec et his similia defleret atque ploraret fortiter, introivit gubernius, <q>ui sic ait: “Domine, tu quidem pie facis, sed

RA 25 is continued on page 160

Va<sup>c</sup>P

1 gaudens P: gavisus *coni. Riese* 4 profectoria *Riese*, cf. profectoriis Rα(F): perf- P 5 filiam Rα: -ium P 6 navem *scripsi*: -s P, *edd.* 9 Austri *Riese*, *Tsitsikli*, cf. Ovid., *Met.* 7, 532: austeris *Ring*, variis *Dias* (1901) 764 : Austris P, Rα(F) | ventorum P, Rα: secl. *Riese* | impio Rα(LG): pie P, diu *Riese*, secl. *Ring*, *Hunt* (1980) 33 | nono P: decimo Va<sup>c</sup>, septimo *Ring*, *Klebs* 37, cf. *Hunt* (1994) 305 9-10 nono mense, cogente Lucina (sc. dea partus), enixa <est> puella <puellam> ego ex variis aliorum praecedentibus coniecturis: nono mense cogente, enixa Lucina puella P (posterior aetas hoc filiae regis Archistratis nomen retinet, cf. supra n.54): est suppl. Rα, *edd.*; puellam *coni. Riese* 10 rursum P, *edd.*: sursum *Rossbach* (1893) 1233 12 Non fuit ... quasi mortua P: intra parentheses posui nec delevi mentionem, cf. e.g. *Xen. Eph.* 3,7,4: intercl. *edd.* | viderent P (constr. ad sententiam), W.A. *Baehrens* (1912) 464: -ret Rα, *edd.* | cum *add. Riese* 15 adulescentie (ex -tule) P | profusus Rα, *edd.*: per- P 16 corpusculum P, *Ring*, *Weyman* (1893) 577: corpus eius *Riese*, cf. *Klebs* 274, n.4 16-17 Cara coniunx, cara *scripsi*: Haera coniuncx kara P 18 quae ego nunc, cf. infra 24: qui P (supplendum ex praecedentibus: patri tuo), *edd.* 20 gubernius P (i.q. gubernius), *Tsitsikli* (1981), allato *Aul. Gell., Noct. Att.* 16,7,10 | qui *edd.*: cui P

## RB 25

25. Rex hilaratus iussit navem produci in littore et omnibus bonis implere. Praeterea nutricem suam Lycoridem et obstetricem peritissimam propter partum eius simul navigare praecepit. Et data profectoria deduxit eos ad litus. Osculatur filiam et generum et ventum prosperum optat. Et ascendentes navem cum multa familia multoque apparatu alto 5 vento navigant. Qui dum per aliquot dies variis ventorum flatibus detinentur, septimo mense cogente Luc<ina> enixa est puella puellam. Sed secundis sursum redeuntibus coa<g>ul<a>to sanguine conclusoque spiritu defunctae repraesentavit effigiem. Subito exclamat familia: currit Apollonius et vidit coniugem suam exanimem iacentem. A<b>- 10 sc<i>ndit a pectore vestes unguibus, primas adolescentiae genas discerpit et lacrimas fundens iactavit se super pectus et ait: "Cara coniunx Archistratis et unica filia regis, quid respondebo regi patri tuo, qui me naufragum suscepit?" Et cum haec et his similia deflens diceret, introivit ad eum gubernator et ait: "Domine, tu quidem pie facis, sed 15

RB 25 is continued on page 161

## bβ(M)π

2 impleri π | Propterea π | Ligoridem βπ | obsti- bβπ 3 datis profectoriis M, RSt 5 eis optat π | ascendentes b, *retinui*: ascendens β, π (a. Appollonius) | familia β<sup>1</sup>π: falmilia b, milia β (a. corr.) | apparatu (ex -um) b 6 navigant b: -gat βπ 7 detinetur β: -retur π | Lucina Va, *Riese*: luce b; luce crepusculo β, π<sup>1</sup> lucis cr. (ex crep. lucis) 8 secundis b, β (a. corr.), π: oculis β<sup>1</sup>, β<sup>11</sup> | coaculento b | conclusoque sanguine spi-ritu b (per dittographiam) 9 defunctae representavit effigiem *codd.*: defuncta est *Schmeling* (1994) 390, *iniuria* | exclamavit βπ 10-11 Abscindit *scripsi*: Ascendit b, Scindit β, Scidit π 11 unguibus (ex ungi-) b | adolescentia egenas b 11-12 discerp-sit π 12 pectus eius π 13 Archistratis β, cf. *supra* n.54 | Archistrates bMπ | regi om. π



## RA 25

- navis mortuum sufferre non potest. Iube ergo corpus in pelagus mitti, ut possimus undarum fluctus evadere". Apollonius vero dictum aegre ferens ait ad eum: "Quid narras, pessime hominum? Placet tibi ut eius corpus in pelagus mittam, qu<ae> me naufragum suscepit et egenum?"
- 25 Erant ex servis eius fabri, quibus convocatis secari et compaginari tabulas, r<i>mas et foramina picari praecepit et facere loculum amplissimum. Et charta plumbea obturari iubet e<um> inter iuncturas tabularum. Quo perfecto locul<o> regalibus ornamentis ornat puellam, in loculo composuit et XX sestertia auri ad caput eius posuit. Dedit
- 30 postremo osculum funeri, effudit super eam lacrimas et iussit infantem tolli et diligenter nutriri, ut haberet in malis aliquod solatium et pro filia sua neptem regi ostenderet. Et iussit loculum mitti in mare cum amarissimo fletu.

22 fluctus (sc. *surgentes*) P: fluctibus Va<sup>c</sup> | vero *Riese*: -um P, *Ring* 23-24 (eius corpus), quae *Peters* (1904) 177, *Hunt* (1980) 29, cf. *supra* 18: qui P, def. E. Löfstedt (1908) 42 (sc. corpus masc. generis); † qui *Riese*, quod *Ring* 26 rimas Rα: ru- P | picari Rα, edd.: pisc- P | facere P, Rα(F) | fieri Va, con. *Riese* 27 eum *Ring*, *Riese*: et P, del. *Hunt* (1980) 34 28 loculo Rα: loculum P, del. *Merkelbach* apud *Tsitsikli*, *Hunt* (1983) 333 29 VI tertia P, sic fere ubique 30 postremo P: -um Rα, *Heraeus* (1893) 31 et: postea add. P.

## RB 25

navis mortuum non fert. Iube ergo corpus in pelago mitti". Apollonius indignatus ait: "Quid narras, pessime hominum? Placet tibi ut hoc corpus in pelago mittam, qui me suscepit naufragum et egenum?" Inter haec vocat fabros navales, iubet coagmentari tabulas et fieri loculum amplissimum et chartis plumbeis circumduci foramina et rimas omnes 20 diligenter picari. Quo perfecto regalibus ornamentis decoratam puellam in loculo composuit, cum fletu magno dedit osculum. Et viginti sestertia super caput ipsius posuit. Deinde iubet infantem diligenter nutriri, ut vel in malis haberet iocundum solatium, <vel> ut <pro> filia neptem ostenderet regi. Et iussit in mari mitti loculum cum magno 25 luctu; et conclamatum est a familia.

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16 fert β (*a. corr.*), π, *Riese*: feret b; ferre potest β, *Schmeling* (1988) | pelagus π 18 impelago β: in pelagus π | qui b, Va: quae βπ 19 vocavit βπ | coaugmentare b (*i.q.* coagmentari βπ?) 21 remas b (*i.q.* rimas) | plicari βπ | perfecto bβ: peracto π 22 in loculum β | composuit: cum posuit β | cum bπ: in β | et dedit π 23 super bβ: sub π | imposuit βπ | *Post* posuit *add.* et codicellos scripsit S, et codicellos scriptos Va, γ (*cf.* 26, RB 8-9) *quae verba iniuria Riese et Schmeling* (1988) *in textum receperunt*, *cf.* Introd. V.1 24 nutrici β | vel ut pro filia T, *Riese, Klebs* 66: et ut (b: ut βπ) filiam vel bβπ 25 neptam β | mare π 26 a βπ: *om.* b.

## RA 26

26. Tertia die eiciunt undae loculum: venit ad litus Ephesiorum, non longe a praedio cuiusdam medici. Qui in illa die cum discipulis suis deambulans iuxta litus vidit loculum effusis fluctibus iacentem et ait famulis suis: “Tollite hunc loculum cum omni diligentia et ad villam afferte”. Quod cum fecisse<n>t famuli, medicus libenter aperuit et vidit puellam regalibus ornamentis ornatam, speciosam valde et in falsa morte iacentem, et ait: “Quantas putamus lacrimas hanc puellam suis parentibus reliquisse!” Et videns subito ad caput eius pecuniam positam et subtus codicillos scriptos et ait: “Perquiramus, quid desiderat aut mandat dolor”. Qui cum resignasset, invenit sic scriptum: “Quicumque hunc loculum invenerit habentem in eo XX ses<tertia> auri, peto ut X se<stertia> habeat, X vero funeri impendat. Hoc enim corpus multas dereliquit lacrimas et dolore amarissimos. Quodsi aliud fecerit, quam dolor exposcit, ultimus suorum decadat, nec sit, qui corpus suum sepulturae commendet”. Perlectis codicillis ad famulos ait: “Praestetur corpori, quod imperat dolor. Iuravi itaque per spem vitae meae in hoc funere amplius me erogaturum, quam dolor exposcit”. Et haec dicens iubet continuo instrui rogam. Sed dum sollicitate atque studiose rogam aedificatur atque componitur, supervenit discipulus medici, aspectu adulescens, <s>e<d>, quantum ingenio, senex.

RA 26 is continued on page 164

19 Cf. Iambl., Βαβυλωνιακά (ed. Stephens 74 b 42)

1 (eiciunt.) Vnde P, corr. Ring, Riese 2 in illa die P: die illa Rα, Va 3 iuxta litum Ring, Riese: iuxta litum P, in littore Rα 5 fecissent Rα, edd.: fecisset P | libenter P, Archibald (1991): leviter Rα, inde leniter Velserus, Ring, Riese 6-7 et in falsa mortem iacentem P, cf. 26 RB 6 (eadem, sed elegantius): delere propos. Landgraf (1888) 120, del. Schmeling (1988) 8 videns P: vidit Rα 9 et ait P, Rα: ait Ring, Riese, edd. 10 Qui P, Rα: Quos coni. Riese 11-12 XX sestertia scripsi: XXVI tertia P 12 X sestertia scripsi: XVI P 14 decadat P: decedat Bonnet, alii 15 suum Ring, Riese: tuum P, Rα 16 imperat Rα, Ring, Riese: impetrat P, Schmeling | Iuravi P, cf. Introd. IV.2: Iuro Rα, Schmeling (1988) | itaque P: inquit Rα 20 sed Riese: et P, Rα(F), Ring | quantum P: quanto Schmeling (1984); (1994), 147

## RB 26

26. Tertia die eiciunt undae loculum in litore Ephesiorum, non longe a praedio medici cuiusdam Chaeremonis. Qui die illa cum discipulis suis deambulans in litore vidit loculum ex fluctibus expulsum iacentem in litore. Et ait famulis suis: “Tollite cum omni diligentia loculum istum et ad villam p<er>ferte”. Et ita fecerunt. Medicus leviter aperuit et videns puellam regalibus ornamentis decoratam et falsa morte speciosam, obstipuit et ait: “Quas putamus lacrimas hanc puellam parentibus reliquisse!” Et videns sub capite eius pecuniam positam et codicellos scriptos ait: “Videamus, quid desiderat dolor”. Quos cum resignasset, invenit scriptum: “Quicumque hunc loculum invenerit, habet xx sestertia. Peto, ut dimidiam partem habeas, dimidiam vero funeri eroges. Hoc enim corpus multas reliquit lacrimas. Quodsi aliud feceris, quam quod dolor desiderat, ultimu<s> tu<orum> decidas, nec sit, qui corpus tuum sepulturae commendet”. Perlectis codicellis ad famulos ait: “Praestemus corpori, quod dolor desiderat. Iuro autem per spem vitae meae amplius in hoc funere me erogaturum”. Et iubet instrui rogam. Et dum sollicite rogam instruitur, supervenit discipulus medici, aspectu adolescens, sed ingenio senex. Cum vidisset corpus

RB 26 is continued on page 165

## bβ(M)π

1 eiciunt unde loculum b: Eicitur inde loculum β, eicitur locus π 2 presidio b | medici b: om. βπ 3-4 vidit ... littore: om. β (per haplographiam) 3 ex om. π | impulsus π 4 cum indulgentia β, diligenter π 5 perferte RT, RE, Riese: proferte bβ, deferte π | leniter π, Riese, Schmeling (1988) | aperuit bβ: aperuit eum π 6-7 speciosam bβ: sopitam π 7 haec puella b 9 videmus π | desideret βπ | resignasset π, Vélserus, Riese: design- bβ 10 inveneris βπ | habet b (sc. locus): habebis βπ | ·XX·: om. βπ 13 quod bβ: om. π | ultimus tuorum Riese, Tsitsikli: ultimum tuum b (sc. diem), π (in ultimum t.), ultimum tuarum β (sc. dierum) 15 autem bβ: om. π 17 institui βπ 18 aspectu: om. β | sed βπ: et b | Cumque π

## RA 26

Hic cum vidisset speciosum corpus super rogum velle poni, intuens magistrum ait: “Vnde hoc novum nescio quod funus?” Magister ait: “Bene venisti: haec enim hora te expectat. Tolle ampullam unguenti et, quod est suppreum, de<f>unctae corpori puellae superfunde”. At  
 25 vero adulescens tulit ampullam unguenti et ad lectum devenit puellae et detraxit a pectore vestes, unguentum fudit et per omnes artus suspiciosa manu retractat, sentitque a praecordiis pectoris torporis quietem. Obstupuit iuvenis, quia cognovit puellam in falsa morte iacere. Palpat venarum indicia, rimatur aur<a>s narium, labia labiis  
 30 probat: sentit gracil<e> spirantis vitam prope luctare cum morte adultera, et ait: “Supponite faculas per IIII partes”. Quod cum fecisse<n>t, lentas lectoque suppositas <puella coepit> retrahere manus, et sanguis ille, qui coagulatus fuerat, <per unctionem> liquefactus est.

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**29** Cf. Lucan., *Phars.* 3,578 hic luctantem animam lenta cum morte trahentes.

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**24** defuncte Rα: desunt te P **26** vestes *add. in marg.* P | per P, Ring: *intercl.* Riese **27** pectoris P, Ring: *intercl.* Riese, Tsitsikli **29** auras Ring, Riese: aures P, Rα(F) **30** gracile Ring, Riese: gracilis P **32** fecissent Riese, alii: fecisset P, Ring | lectoque *coni.* Riese: lentoque P, alii alia, cf. *ed. m. et Schmeling* (1988) **32-33** retrahere manus P (*fort. infm. hist.*): <puella coepit> *addidi lectionis causa*, cf. retrahere coepit manus Riese, Tsitsikli **33** qui per unctionem coagulatus fuerat, liquefactus (*pro: liquefactus* Rα) est P; per unctionem *transpos.* Ring, Riese: a perfrictione *substituit* Hunt (1994) 307 (cf. 27, RA 6).

## RB 26

speciosum super rogum positum, ait: “Magister, unde hoc novum  
 funus?” Chaeremon ait: “Bene venisti: haec enim hora te expectavit. 20  
 Tolle ampullam unguenti et, quod suppreum est defunctae benefi-  
 cium, superfunde sepulturae”. Pervenit iuvenis ad corpus puellae,  
 detrahit a pectore vestem, fundit unguenti liquorem, per artifices  
 officiosa manu tactus praecordiam sensit, temptat tepidum corpus et  
 obstipuit. Palpat indicia venarum, <rimatur> aur<a>s narium: labia labiis 25  
 probat, sensit spiramentum gracilem, luctantem vitam cum morte, et  
 ait famulis suis: “Subponite faculas per quattuor angulos lentas”.  
 Quibus subpositis puella teporis nebula tacta, coagulatus sanguis  
 liquefactus est.

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19-20 hoc novum funus b: hoc unus corpus β, venit hoc corpus π 20 hora: lora b |  
 expectat π 22 super fundae b (*male diducta verba*) | Pervenit b: Supervenit βπ  
 23 a pectore bβ: a corpore π | vestes βπ | liquorem β: licorem π, licor b 24 officio-  
 sa manu b, β (*a. corr.*): officiosa manus β<sup>1</sup>, -se manus π | tactus βπ: tractus b | pre-  
 cordiam b, *dubitanter retinui*: precordia βπ | sensit bβ: sentit π 25 rimatur *add. Riese* |  
 auras S, *coni. Riese*: aures *codd.* | narium b: nares βπ 26 gracilem b, *retinui*: -e βMπ |  
 vita b 27 famulis suis *codd.*: *sive vocem 'suis' sive utramque viri docti certatim delent*  
*(cf. ed. m. et Schmeling (1994) 401)*, sed *cf. Introd. VI.2* | angulos *codd.*: partes  
*Schmeling (1994) 392 vix necessario* 28 nebulae bM | acta b.

## RA 27

27. Quod ut vidit iuvenis, ad magistrum suum cucurrit et ait: “Magister, puella, quam credis esse defunctam, vivit! Et ut facilius mihi credas, spiritum praeclusum patefaciam!” Adhibitis secum viribus tulit puellam in cubiculo suo et posuit super lectulum, velum divisit, calefecit oleum, madefecit lanam et effudit super pectus puellae. Sanguis vero ille, qui intus a perfrictione coagulatus fuerat, accepto tepore liquefactus est coepitque spiritus praeclusus per medullas descendere. Venis itaque patefactis aperuit puella oculos et recipiens spiritum, quem iam perdiderat, leni et balbutienti sermone ait:
- 10 “Deprecor itaque, medice, ne me contingas aliter, quam oportet contingere: uxor enim regis sum et regis filia”. Iuvenis ut vidit, quod in arte viderat, quod magistro fallebat, gaudio plenus vadit ad magistrum suum et ait: “Veni, magister, e<n> discipuli tui apodixi<n>!”
- 15 Magister introivit cubiculum et ut vidit puellam iam vivam, quam mortuam putabat, ait discipulo suo: “Probo artem, peritiam laudo, miror diligentiam. Sed audi, discipule, nolo <te> artis beneficium perdidisse: accipe mercedem. Haec enim puella secum attulit pecuniam”. Et dedit ei decem sestertia auri et iussit puellam salubribus cibis et fomentis recreari. Post paucos dies, ut cognovit eam regio genere esse
- 20 ortam, adhibitis amicis in filiam suam sibi adoptavit. Et rogavit cum lacrimis, ne ab aliquo contingeretur. Exaudivit eam et inter sacerdotes Dianae feminas <in>fulcivit et collocavit, ubi omnes virgines inviolabiliter servabant castitatem.

## P

4 in Rα, *edd.*: de P 6 a perfrictione P, *retinui*, *cf.* Introd. VIII.2.2 6-7 tepore Rα(F): tempore P 9 leni Rα(F), *Riese*: leni P, *Ring* 10 Deprecor itaque, medice P: *del. multi prae-euntibus* Rossbach, *Klebs* (37,221), *sed cf.* 9, RA 4 et *Helm* (1900) 65 | ne Rα: nec P 12 magistro P, *retinui*: magistrum *Ring*, *Riese* 13 en *Ring*, *Riese* (δεκτικῶς, *cf.* 24, RA 28): et P | apodixin *Ring*, *Riese*: apodixiem P, *cf.* apodixen Rα(F) 16 te *add. Riese* 20 Et rogavit (*sc.* puella regina) P, Rα (*cf.* ed. m.) 22 infulcivit *scripsi*, *cf.* *Blaise, Dict.*, s.v. infulcio: se fulcivit P; *fort. etiam vox ‘fulcivit’ defendi potest (simplex pro composito, cf. RB 20): locum conclamatum alii aliter sanare temptaverunt* (*cf.* ed. m., ad. loc.).

## RB 27

27. Quod ut vidit iuuenis, ait: “Chaeremon magister, peccasti. Nam quam putas esse defunctam, vivit! Et ut facilius mihi credas, ego illi adhibitis viribus statim spiritum patefaciam!” Et his dictis pertulit puellam in cubiculo suo et posuit in lectum. Calefecit oleum, madefecit lanam, fudit super pectus puellae. Sanguis, qui ad perfectionem coagulatus erat, accepto tepore liquefactus est et coepit spiritus praeclusus per medullas descendere. Venis itaque patefactis aperuit oculos et recipiens spiritum, quem iam perdiderat, leni et balbutienti sermone ait: “Rogo, ne me aliter contingatis, quam contingi oportet regis filiam et regis uxorem”. Iuuenis ut vidit, quae in arte viderat, quae magistro fallere<n>t, gaudio plenus vadit ad magistrum et dicit: “Magister, accipe discipuli tui apodixin!” Et introivit cubiculum iuuenis et vidit puellam vivam, quam putaverat mortuam. Et respiciens discipulum ait: “Amo curam, probo providentiam, laudo diligentiam. Et audi, discipule, ne te artis beneficium aestimes perdidisse: accipe pecuniam. Haec enim puella mercedem contulit secum”. Et iussit puellam salubrioribus cibis et fomentis recreare. Et post paucos dies, ut cognovit eam regio genere ortam, adhibitis amicis adoptavit eam sibi filiam. Et rogante cum lacrimis, ne ab aliquo contingeretur, inter sacerdotes Dianae femina<s> fulsit, ubi omni genere castitatis inviolabiliter servabatur.

## bβ(M)π

2 putas βπ, *Hunt (1994) 319*: putabas b | esse: om. π | mihi: om. βπ 3 viribus bπ: curis (ex viribus) β | statim: om. π | pertulit b: protulit βπ 4 posuit in lectum. b: posita (βπ: posita ea π) in lecto βπ 4-5 calefacit ... madefacit π 5 fudit bβ: om. π | Sanguis vero π 6 tepore bβ<sup>1</sup>π: tempore β (a. corr.) 8 perdiderat b: tradiderat βπ | leni bβ: leni π 10 quae<sup>1</sup>: quia *Riese*, quod *Schmeling (1988)* | viderat *secl. Schmeling (1988)* | magistro b, cf. RA 12: magistrum βπ 11 fallerent *scripsi*: falleret b (cf. LHS II 431), fallebant βπ | vadit bπ: venit β | dicit bβ: ait π 12 apodixen βπ 15 ne bβ: nec π 16 contulit (ex copt-) secum b: secum protulit β, suam secum retulit π | Post secum *Riese lacunam statuit*; et dedit ei decem sestertia *suppl. Tsitsikli* 17 recreari β 17-18 eam regio bβπ: regio eam π<sup>1</sup> 18 filiam b: in filiam βMπ 18-20 (Stricta grammaticalis constructio mihi neglecta videtur, sensim a scribis correcta) rogante b, RE: rogante ea π; rogantem eam β, *E. Baehrens (1871) 857*, *Riese*, *Schmeling*; rogavit eam M 20 femina b | fulsit *codd.*: infulsit *E. Baehrens, l.l. (verbum causativ., i.q. infulcivit)* | castitatis b, β (a. corr.), π: castitas β<sup>1</sup>, γ, *Thielmann (1881) 57*.



## RA 28

28. Inter haec Apollonius cum navigat ingenti luctu, gubernante deo applicuit Tharsos, descendit ratem et petivit domum Stranguillionis et Dyonisiae. Qui cum eos salutavisset, omnes casus suos eis dolenter exposuit et ait: “Quantum in amissam coniugem flebam, tantum in servatam mihi filiam consolabor. Itaque, sanctissimi hospites, quoniam ex amissa coniuge regnum, quod mihi servabatur, nolo accipere, sed neque reverti ad socerum, cuius in mari perdidit filiam, sed potius opera mercat<ur>us, commendo vobis filiam meam: cum filia vestra nutriatur et eam cum bono et simplici animo suscipiatis atque patriae  
 5 nomine eam cognominetis Tharsiam. Praeterea et nutricem uxoris meae, nomine Lycoridem, vobis commendo pariter et volo, ut filiam meam nutriat atque custodiat”. His dictis tradidit infantem, dedit aurum, argentum et pecunias necnon et vestes pretiosissimas, et iuravit fortiter nec barbam nec capillos nec unguis dempturum, nisi prius  
 10 filiam suam nuptui traderet. At illi stupentes, quod tam graviter iurasset, cum magna fide se puellam educaturos promittunt. Apollonius vero commendata filia navem ascendit altumque pelagus petens ignotas et longinquas Aegypti regiones devenit.

## P

13-14 iuravit fortiter: *spectat ad celebre illud iusiurandum* κατόχων (κομοτροφία ‘wearing long hair’; νηστεία ‘fast’; ἀφροδισίων ἀποχή ‘abstinence of sexual intercourse’): κάτοχου, cf. Heliod. 3,17,2; 4,17,1; 8,11,3; 10,9,3; *fusus* Introd. VI.1.

2 Tharsos P, *Riese*, *Tsitsikli*, cf. *supra* n.65: Tharso Rα(F), *Ring*, *Klebs* 256, *alii* | Stranguillionis P, *hic et saepius* 3 diunisie P | Qui *edd.*: Quid P 5 consolabor P, *Ring*, *Riese*: -bar *Vëlserus* 6 nolo Rα, *Riese*: volo P, *Ring* 7 set P, *Riese* (cf. *Ind. verb.*, s.v. sed et): *secl. Riese* (in textu) 8 opera mercat<ur>us *dubitanter scripsi* (cf. RB, RC): opera mercatus P, *inde alii alia*, cf. *ed. m.*, *Schmeling* (1988) 13 et pecunias P, *Ring*, cf. Rα: *del. Riese* 17 altumque Rα: adlitumque P.

## RB 28

28. Interea Apollonius dum navigat cum ingenti luctu, gubernante deo applicuit Tharso. Descendit ratem, petit domum Stranguillionis et Dyonisiadis. Quos cum salutasset, casus suos omnes exposuit. At illi dolentes, quantum in amissam coniugem deflent iuveni, tantum in reservatam sibi filiam gratulantur. Apollonius intuens Stranguillionem et Dyonisiadem ait: "Sanctissimi hospites, quoniam post amissam coniugem caram mihi servatum regnum accipere nolo, neque ad socerum reverti, cuius in mare perdidit filiam, sed potius opera mercaturus, commendo vobis filiam meam, ut cum filia vestra Philotimiade nutriatur. Quam bono et simplici animo suscipiatis et patriae vestrae nomine cognominetis Tharsia. Praeterea nutricem uxoris meae Lycoridem, quae cura sua custodiat puellam, vobis relinquo". Haec ut dixit, tradidit infantem. Dedit aurum multum et argentum et vestes pretiosissimas et iuravit se barbam, capillos et ungues non dempturum, nisi filiam suam nuptam tradidisset. Et illi stupentes, quod tam gravi iuramento se obligasset, cum magna fide se puellam educaturos promiserunt. Tunc Apollonius commendatam filiam navem ascendit: ignotas et longas petiit Aegypti regiones.

## bβπ

1 navigavit β 2 petiit βπ 3 Donisiadis b 4 amissa coniuge βπ | iuveni *Riese*: iuvenis b, *fort. recte., om.* βπ 5 reservata ... filia βπ 7 servatum βπ: servatam b 8 socerum βπ: socrum b, *vix recte* | in mare perdidit filiam b: filiam in mare (-i β<sup>1</sup>) perdidit βπ | opera (-am β<sup>11</sup>) mercaturus β, opera mea mercaturus sum π, mercaturus b 9 Philotimiade, *scripsi cf.* Filothimiade Va; Filotimiadiem (*i.g.* mihi, *coniungendum cum* nutriatur) b, Filioci βπ 9-10 nutriatur bπ: adnutriatur β 10 Quam βπ: Quam ut b | bono animo et simplici π | suscipiatis bβ: queso suscipiatis π | et: *om.* b | nomine bπ: nomine eam β 11 Tharsia b (*nomin. in apposit.*): Tharsiam βπ | Praeterea βπ, *cf.* RA: Preter eam b, *quod defendi potest* 12 quē βπ: qui b, Va | custodiat βπ: et b 13 infantem b: filiam βπ | aurum et argentum multum βπ 14 capillos b: et (*add.* β<sup>1</sup>) capillum β<sup>1</sup>π | dempturum b: direpturum βπ 15 suam: *om.* π | tradidisset bβ: vidisset π, *item* 29, RB 21 16 magnam b | se puellam *Riese*, *cf.* RA: puellam se π; se *om.* bβ | educaturos β: edoc- b 17 commendata filia βπ 18 petit β,π (Egypti petit regiones π).

## RA 29

29. Itaque puella Tharsia facta quinqu<enn>is traditur studiis artium liberalibus et filia e<o>rum cum ea docebatur: et <in> ingenio et in auditu et in sermone et in morum honestate docentur. Cumque Tharsia ad XIII annorum aetatem venisset, reversa de auditorio invenit
- 5 nutricem suam subitanam valitudinem incurrisse, et sedens iuxta eam casus infirmitatis eius <ex>plorat. Nutrix vero eius elevans se dixit ei: “Audi a<n>iculae morientis verba suprema, domina Tharsia; audi et pectori tuo manda. Interrogo namque te, quem tibi patrem aut matrem aut patriam esse aestimas?” Puella ait: “Patriam Tharsos, patrem
- 10 Stranguillionem, matrem Dyonisiam”. Nutrix vero eius ingemuit et ait: “Audi, domina mea Tharsia, ste<mm>ata origin<is> tuorum natalium, ut scias, quid post mortem meam facere debeas. Est tibi pater nomine Apollonius, mater vero [Lucina] Arc<hi>stratis regis filia, patria Tyros. Dum mater tua <te> enixa <est>, statim redeuntibus secundis
- 15 praeclusoque spiritu ultimum fati signavit diem. Quam pater tuus facto

RA 29 is continued on page 172

### Va<sup>c</sup>P

1 quinquennis *Ring, Riese, cf. expleto quinquennio* Rα: quinquenalis P 2 eorum Rα(F): earum P | in<sup>1</sup> *addidi, alii aliter* 6 casus P: causas Rα(F), *fort. melius* | explorat *Ring, Riese: implorat* P, Rα 7 Audi<sup>1</sup> *Ring, alii: Audi et P, Riese* | aniculae *Ring, Riese: auricule* P 9 extimas (*i.q. aestimas*) P: existimas *Ring, alii* 11 Audi Rα, *edd.: Audis P (vi imperativi)* | stemmata originis *Ring, Riese, cf. 34, RA 6: stenuata origine* P 12 Est Rα: Et P 13 Lucina P, Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα, *cf. 25 RA 9: secl. Ring, Riese, alii* | Archistratis *scripsi: Arcestratis* P 14 Tyros P, *Riese: Tyrus Ring, Tyro* Va<sup>c</sup> | [Quam] dum P, *secl. Riese, cf. (15) Quam: quae Ring, cf. quae cum Va<sup>c</sup> | te addidi | enixa est* Rα: enixa P

## RB 29

29. Interea puella Tharsia facta est quinque annis. Mittitur in schola,  
 deinde studiis liberalibus datur. Cum ad XIII <annorum> venisset  
 aetatem, reversa de auditorio invenit nutricem suam Lycoridem  
 subitanam aegritudinem incurrisse. Et sedens iuxta eam super thorum  
 casus infirmitatis exquirat. Cui nutrix ait: “Audi, domina, morientis 5  
 ancillae tuae verba suprema et pectori commenda”. Et dixit: “Domina  
 Tharsia, quem tibi patrem, quam matrem vel quam patriam, putas,  
 habuisti?” Puella ait: “Patriam Tharso, Stranguillionem patrem, Dyoni-  
 siadem matrem”. Nutrix ingemuit et ait: “Audi, domina, natalium  
 tuorum originem, ut scias, quid post mortem meam agere debeas. Est 10  
 tibi Cyrene solum patria, mater Archistrat<i>s, regis Archistrat<i>s filia.  
 Quae cum te enixa est, statim secundis sursum redeuntibus praecluso-  
 que spiritu ultimum vitae finivit diem. Quam pater tuus Apollonius  
 effecto loculo cum ornamentis regalibus et XX sestertiis in mare misit,  
 ut, ubicumque fuisset elata, haberet in suppressis exequias funeris sui. 15  
 Quo itaque sit elata, ipsa sibi testis erit. Nam rex Apollonius pater  
 tuus amissam coniugem lugens, te in cunabulis positam, tui tantum

RB 29 is continued on page 173

## bβπ

1 facta est bβ: facta π | quinque annis b, *dubitanter retinui*: quinquennis βπ | in sco-  
 lam π 2 datur π | cum b: cumque βπ | XIII venisset (b: perv- β) aetatem bβ:  
 XIII<sup>u</sup> (β<sup>1</sup>: quarti decimi π) anni pervenisset etatem β<sup>1</sup>π | <annorum> fort. *supplen-*  
*dum* 3 adiutorio β 4 iuxta bβ: super π (‘on her headside’) | thorum b, β (ex -ros):  
 trorum π, cf. 18, RB 3 5 inquit π | moriente b 6 verba ancillae tuae βπ 7 quam tibi  
 (β: te π) matrem vel patrem βπ 7-8, putas, habuisti β, *Riese*: putas habuisse π; putas b,  
*Schmeling* (1994) 392 8 patriam βπ: -a b | Tharso b (*indecl.*): -um βπ 9 Domina  
 audi βπ 11 Cyrene solum *Schmeling* (1984) (Cirenes solum *ego olim*): Cirene solo βπ,  
 senelo b | Post patria *suppl.* *Riese* Apollonius pater, sed cf. 17 Apollonius pater tuus  
 11-12 Archistrat<i>s, regis Archistrat<i>s filia *ego*, cf. *supra* n.54: -tes, regis -tes filia b:  
 Archistratis (achistratis π) regis filia βπ, cf. *Klebs* (1899) 30 12 te bπ: a te β  
 13-14 precluso π 13-14 Quam pater βπ: Pater b 14 effectum loculum b (*acc. abs.?*) |  
 cum π, *Riese*: om. bβ | sestertiis βπ: -tias (ex -tiais) b, *quod defendi potest*, cf. 19 et 31,  
 RB 22 (cum + acc.) 15 fuerit b 16 elata b, π<sup>1</sup>: ellata π, delata β | sibi bβ: tibi π  
 17 lugens bβ: deflens π | positam *codd.* (*acc. abs.*)

## RA 29

20 loculo cum ornamentis regalibus et XX sestertiis auri in mare  
 permisit, ut, ubi fuisset <de>lata, ipsa testis <sibi e>sset. Naves quoque  
 luctantibus ventis cum patre tuo lugente et te in cunabulis posita  
 pervenerunt ad hanc civitatem. His ergo suis <hospitibus>, Stranguillioni  
 et Dyonisiae, te commendavit pariter cum vestimentis regalibus et sic  
 25 votum faciens neque capillos dempturum neque ungulas, donec te  
 nuptui traderet. Nunc ergo post mortem meam, si quando tibi hospites  
 tui, quos tu parentes appellas, forte aliquam iniuriam fecerint, ascende  
 in forum et invenies statuam patris tui Apollonii: apprehende statuam  
 et proclama: "Ipsius sum filia, cuius est haec statua!" Cives vero  
 memores beneficiorum patris tui Apollonii liberabunt te; necesse est!"

---

**17** permisit P, *Ring*: demisit *Riese*, misit *Hunt* (1994) 314 | ut Rα, *edd.*: et P | delata  
*edd.*: dilata P, Va | testis fuisset P: *inde* testis sibi esset *Hunt* (1980) 29, sibi testis esset  
*Hunt* (1994) 314 (cf. 48, RA 35) **19** hospitibus Rα, *edd.*: suis optimis P **20** pariter P:  
 pater tuus *coni. Riese* **21** faciens <se> *Riese*, *sed cf.* 28, RA 14 | ungulas P, *Ring*: ungues  
 Rα, *edd.* **24-25** apprehende ... proclama Rα, *edd.*: apprehendens ... proclamans P  
**26** memores beneficiorum (*gen.*) *codd.*, *recte* | necesse est *sic interpunxi legendi causa*:  
*fort. signum diacriticum delendum, cf. ed.m.*

## RB 29

solatio recreatus, applicuit Tharso. Commendavit te mecum cum magna pecunia et vestem copiosam Stranguillioni et Dyonisiadi hospitibus suis votumque faciens barbam, capillum neque ungues dempturum, nisi te prius nuptum tradidisset. Et cum suis ascendit ratem et ad nobiles tuos annos ad vota persolvenda non remeavit. Sed nec pater tuus, qui tanto tempore moras in redeundo facit, nec scripsit nec salutis suae nuntium misit: forsitan periit. Et ne casu hospites tui, quos tu parentes appellas, aliquam tibi iniuriam faciant, perveni ad forum; ibi invenies statuam patris tui in bigam. Ascende, statuam ipsius comprehende et casus tuos omnes expone. Cives vero memores patris tui beneficia iniuriam tuam vindicabunt".

**23-24** Cf. Vulg., Tob. 10,1 Cum vero moras faceret Tobias; 10,8 Et ego mittam nuntium salutis de te ad Tobiam, patrem tuum.

**18** commendavitque  $\pi$  **19** veste copiosa  $\pi$  | Dionisiadi  $\beta^1\pi$ : -ade b,  $\beta$  (a. corr.) **20** faciens b: fecit  $\beta\pi$  | *Iniuria scripsit Riese* se nec barbam nec capillum **20-21** direpturum  $\pi$  **21** nuptam  $\beta\pi$  | tradidisset b $\beta$ : vidisset  $\pi$ , cf. 28, RB 14 **21-22** Et cum suis ... remeavit om. b **22** ad vota persolvenda  $\beta$ : om.  $\pi$  | nec codd., Thielmann (1881) 57: nunc *Riese* | ipse pater  $\beta\pi$ , *Riese* **23** moras in redeundo facit: om. b | nec<sup>1</sup>  $\beta$ : neces b, mihi  $\pi$  **24** periit b, cf. 32, RA 21: vivit  $\beta\pi$  | Et b: Sed  $\beta\pi$  | ne  $\beta\pi$ : nec b | ne casu def. Ahlquist (1909) 103: si casu coni. *Riese*, Schmeling (1988) | hospitis b | tui om.  $\pi$  **24-25** quos tu  $\beta$ : quos tui quos tu b, quos  $\pi$  **25** iniuriam tibi  $\pi$  | faciunt b | perveni b $\beta$ : veni  $\pi$  **26** ibi b: ubi  $\beta\pi$  | inveniens  $\beta$  | in bigam b $\beta$ : in biga  $\pi$ , in bigam ascende  $\beta^u$  | ipsius codd.: ipsius et  $\pi^1$  **28** beneficia b, Va cf. 18, RB 2: beneficiorum  $\beta\pi$ , Schmeling (1994) 393 | indicabunt  $\pi$ .

## RA 30

30. Cui Tharsia ait: “Cara nutrix, testor deum, quod si fortasse aliqui casus mihi evenissent, antequam haec mihi referres, penitus ego nescissem stirpem nativitat<sup>is</sup> meae!” Et cum haec ad invicem confabularentur, nutrix in gremio puellae emisit spiritum. Puella vero corpus  
 5 nutricis suae sepulturae mandavit, lugens eam anno. Et deposito luctu induit priorem dignitatem et petiit scholam suam et ad studia liberalia reversa non prius sumebat cibum, nisi primo monumentum intraret et ferens ampullam <vini> inve<he>ret coronas. Et ibi manes parentum suorum invocabat.

## P

---

2 mihi<sup>1</sup>: tibi *Hunt* (1980) 32, *vix necessario* 6-7 et ad studia liberalia reversa: *verba tradita mutare non ausus sum* 7 non prius ... nisi P, *def. E. Löfstedt* (1936) 34 7 et P (*ex ut correctum*), *retinui*: et *del. Hunt* (1982) 348-349 8 vini Rα(F), *coni. Hunt, l.l., cf.* 31, RA 28/RB 17 | inveheret *Ring* (*cf. imprimis Charit.* 3,3,1 ἐπιφέρειν; 5,1,7 ἐπενεγκεῖν): inveniret P.

## RB 30

30. Puella ait: “Cara nutrix, si prius senectae tuae naturaliter accidisset, quam haec mihi referres, ego originem natalium meorum nescissem!” Et dum haec dicit, nutrix in gremio puellae deposuit spiritum. Exclamavit virgo, cucurrit familia. Corpus nutricis sepelitur, et iubente Tharsia in litore illi monumentum fabricatum est. Et post 5 paucos dies puella rediit in studiis suis, et reversa de auditorio non prius cibum sumebat, nisi nutricis suae monumentum introiret et casus suos omnes exponeret et fleret.

bβπ

1-2 naturaliter accidisset bβ, cf. O. Hey, *ALL 11* (1900) 524: naturaliter mors accidisset π 2-3 non scissem βπ 4 cucurrit bπ: occurrit β | Corpus nutricis b: Nutrix βπ 6 ad studia sua π, *Schmeling* (1994) 393 7 suum cibum βπ | sumebat b: edebat β, alebat π(!).



## RA 31

31. Et dum haec aguntur, quodam die feriato Dionysia cum filia sua, nomine Philomusia, et Tharsia puella transiebat per publicum. Videntes omnes cives speciem Tharsiae ornatam, omnibus civibus et honoratis miraculum apparebat atque omnes dicebant: “Felix pater, cuius filia  
5 est Tharsia; illa vero, quae adhaeret lateri eius, multum turpis est atque dedecus”. Dionysia vero, ut audivit laudare Tharsiam et suam vituperare filiam, <in> insaniae furorem conversa est. Et sedens sola coepit cogitare taliter: “Pater eius Apollonius, ex quo h<in>c profectus est, habet annos XIII et nunquam venit ad suam recipiendum filiam  
10 nec nobis misit litteras. Puto, quia mortuus est aut in pelago periit. Nutrix vero eius decessit. Neminem habeo aemulum. Non potest fieri, nisi ferro aut veneno tollam illam de medio et ornamentis eius filiam meam ornabo”. Et dum haec secum cogitat, nuntiatur ei villicum venisse, nomine Theophilum. Quem ad se convocans ait: “Si cupis habere libertatem cum praemio, tolle Tharsiam de medio”. Villicus  
15 ait: “Quid enim peccavit virgo innocens?” Scelestia mulier ait: “Iam mihi non pares? Tantum fac, quod iubeo. Sin alias, s<enti>as esse contra te irat<os> dominu<m> et domina<m>”. Villicus ait: “Et qualiter hoc potest fieri?” Scelestia mulier ait: “Consuetudo sibi est, ut mox  
20 cum de schola venerit, non prius cibum sumat, antequam monumentum suae nutricis intraverit. Oportet te ibi cum pugione abscondere et eam ve<n>ientem interfice et proice corpus eius in mare. Et cum <re>veneris et de hoc facto nuntiaveris, cum praemio libertatem acci-

RA 31 is continued on page 178

## P

2 transiebat P, *def.* Rossbach (1893) 1233, alii: transibat Riese cunctanter, transibant Ring 6-7 laudare ... vituperare P, Riese, *edd.*: laudari ... vituperari Rα, Va, Ring 7 in Rα, *edd.*: om. P 8 Apollonius, ex quo *distinx.* Ring: P, Riese, Schmeling (1984) non *distinx.* | hinc Rα, *edd.*: huc P 9 recipiendum P, Ring: recipiendam Rα, Riese 12 nisi P, E. Löfstedt (1936) 35 | Post de medio legit P: De hoc quod excogitavi: *secl.* Riese (non legitur in Rα); *fort.* annotatio in marg. *adscripta* (sc. de hoc, quod excogitavit) in textum *irrepsit* 17 Tantum fac (ex Fac tantum fac) P, *edd.* | sentias esse Ring, Riese: sñas P, *cf.* ed. m. (*aliter* Hunt [1999] 347-51) 18 iratos dominum et dominam Ring, Riese, *cf.* 32, RA 11 22 veientem P 23 <re>veneris *scripsi*: adveneris P

## RB 31

31. Dum haec aguntur, quodam die feriato Dionysiada<a> cum filia sua et cum Tharsia per publicum transiebat. Videntes Tharsiae speciem et ornamentum cives et omnes honorati dicebant: “Felix pater, cuius filia es. Ista autem, quae adheret lateri tuo, turpis est et dedecus”. Dionysiada ut audivit filiam suam vituperari, conversa in furorem secum 5 cogitans ait: “Pater eius, ex quo profectus est, habet annos XV et non venit ad recipiendam filiam. Credo, mortuus est aut in pelago periit. Et nutrix discessit. Aemulum nullum habe<o>. Tollam eam de medio et ornamentis eius filiam meam exornabo”. Et iussit venire villicum de suburbano. Cui ait: “Theophile, si cupis libertatem, Tharsiam tolle de 10 medio”. Villicus ait: “Quid enim peccavit innocens virgo?” Scelerata dixit: “Negare mihi non potes; fac, quod iubeo. Sin alias, sentias me iratam. Interfice eam, mitte corpus eius in mare. Et cum nuntiaveris

RB 31 is continued on page 179

## bβ(M)π

1 Dyonisiada *Riese*, cf. 4 et Introd. VII.2.2: Dionisiade b, -is β, Dyonisias π 2 cum Tharsia bβ: Tharsia π | transiebat bπ: -ibat βπ<sup>1</sup>, *Riese* 3 omnes honorati b: honorati βπ 3-4 filia es bβ, non tangendum: es filia π 4 autem: om. π | dedecus β, *Riese*: dedecus est b, dedecus parentibus π 4-5 Dionisiada b, *Riese*: -is β, Dyonisias π, Dionisia π<sup>1</sup> 5 furorem βπ: -e b 6 eius bβ: om. π | annos XV *codd.* 8 discessit bβ, cf. 37 RB, 22: discessit π, decessit *Riese* | nullum b: neminem βπ | habeo RSt, RE, *Riese*: habet *codd.* | eam b: hanc βπ 9 Et iussit b: Tunc iussit π, Iussit β | venire bβ: accersiri π 9-10 de suburbano (sc. praedio) b; suburbanum βπ 10-11 de medio tolle π 12 mihi: om. b | Sin alias b: Sin aliud βM, Sin autem aliud π, cf. 5, RB 6 | sentias b: senties βπ, recte? 13 mitte b: et mitte βπ

## RA 31

pies". Villicus tulit pugionem et lateri suo celat et intuens caelum ait:  
 25 "Deus, ego non merui libertatem accipere nisi per effusionem  
 sanguinis virginis innocentis?" Et haec dicens, suspirans et flens ibat  
 ad monumentum nutricis Tharsiae et ibi latuit. Puella autem rediens de  
 schola solito more fudit ampullam vini et ingressa monumentum posuit  
 coronas supra; et dum invocat manes parentum suorum, villicus  
 30 impetum fecit et aversae puellae capillos apprehendit et <eam> iactavit  
 in terram. Et cum eam vellet percutere, ait ad eum puella: "Theophile,  
 quid peccavi, ut manu tua innocens virgo moriar?" Cui villicus ait:  
 "Tu nihil peccasti, sed pater tuus peccavit Apollonius, qui te cum  
 magna pecunia et vestimentis regalibus reliquit Stranguillioni et  
 Dionysiae". Quod puella audiens <e>um cum lacrimis deprecata est:  
 35 "Vitae meae spes aut solatium, permitte me testari dominum". Cui  
 villicus ait: "Testare. Et deus ipse scit voluntate <me> mea hoc scelus  
 non facere".

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**36** Cf. Vulg., *Tob.* 10,4 lumen oculorum nostrorum (cf. 45, RA 3) ... solacium vitae nostrae, spem posteritatis nostrae.

**23** lateri P, Rα, *Ring*: latere Va, *Riese* **29-30** eam iactavit *Ring*, *Riese*, cf. iactavit eam Rα: iactavit P, alii **34** eum *Ring*, *Riese*: tum P **36** voluntate me mea *Ziehen apud Riesium*, alii aliter, cf. ed. m. et Schmelting (1988): voluntas mea P.

## RB 31

factum, praemium libertatis accipies”. Villicus licet spe libertatis  
 seductus, tamen cum dolore discessit. Et pugionem acutissimum 15  
 praeparavit et abiit post nutricis Tharsiae monumentum. Et puella  
 rediens de studiis solito more tollit ampullam vini et coronam. Venit  
 ad monumentum casus suos exponere. Villicus impetu facto aversae  
 puellae crines apprehendit et traxit ad litus. Et dum vellet interficere  
 eam, puella ait: “Theophile, quid peccavi, ut tua manu moriar?” 20  
 Villicus ait: “Tu nihil peccasti, sed pater tuus Apollonius, qui te cum  
 magna pecunia et ornamenta dereliquit”. Puella cum lacrimis ait:  
 “Peto, domine, ut, si iam nulla spes est vitae meae, deum mihi testari  
 permittas”. Villicus ait: “Testare. Et deus scit coactum me hoc factu-  
 rum scelus”. 25

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14 factum b: actum βπ | libertatis βπ, *Schmeling (1994) 394*: -tem b, *recte*? 16 nutri-  
 cis βπ: -em b 18 casus suos exponere b: ut casus suos exponeret βπ 18-19 aversae  
 puellae b: adversus puellam βπ 19 crines b: crines illius βπ | vellet (*ex velit* β) inter-  
 ficere bβ<sup>1</sup>π 20 manu tua π 21-22 cum magna pecunia et ornamenta b, *recte (varia-*  
*tio, cf. 29, RB 19)*: cum magnam pecuniam et ornamenta β, cum magna pecunia et  
 ornamentis Mπ 23 ut si βπ, *Riese, Hunt (1980) 29, dubitanter admisi*: quia b 24 me  
 coactum βπ.

## RA 32

32. Itaque puella cum dominum deprecatur, subito advenerunt pirat<ae> et videntes hominem armata manu velle percutere, exclamaverunt dicentes: "Parce, barbare, parce et noli occidere! Haec enim nostra praeda est et non tua victima!" Sed ut audivit villicus vocem, eam
- 5 dimittit et fugit et coepit latere post monumentum. Piratae applicantes ad litus tulerunt virginem et collantes altum petierunt pelagus. Villicus post moram <r>ediit et, ut vidit puellam raptam a morte, deo gratias egit, quod non fecit scelus. Et reversus ad dominam suam ait: "Quod precepisti, factum est: comple, quod mihi promiseras". Scelestas mulier
- 10 ait: "Homicidium fecisti, insuper et libertatem petis? Revertere ad villam et opus tuum facito, ne iratos dominum et dominam sentias!" Villicus itaque, ut audivit, elevans ad caelum oculos dixit: "Tu scis, deus, quod non feci scelus. Esto iudex inter nos". Et ad villam suam abiit.
- Tunc Dionysia apud semet ipsam consili<ata> pro scelere quod
- 15 excogitaverat, quomodo poss<e>t facinus illud celare, ingressa ad maritum suum Stran<g>uilionem sic ait: 'Care coniunx, salva coniugem, salva filiam nostram. Vituperia in grandem me furiam concitaverunt et insaniam. Subitoque apud me excogitavi dicens: "Ecce, iam anni sunt plus XIII, ex quo nobis suus pater commendavit Tharsiam, et num-
- 20 quam salutaris nobis misit litteras: forsitan aut afflictione luctus est mortuus aut certe inter fluctus maris et procella<s> periit. Nutrix vero eius defuncta est. Nullum habeo aemulum. Tollam Tharsiam de medio et eius ornamentis nostram ornabo filiam.' Quod et factum esse scias!

RA 32 is continued on page 182

## Va°P

13 Cf. 1 Reg. 24,16 Sit Dominus iudex et iudicet inter me et te

1 piratae: *scripsi*, cf. pirate Rα: pirates P, Va (cf. 44, RA 18 pyrates), sed 5 pirate P 2 percutere P, Ring: eam percutere Riese, alii alia 5 (post monumentum) villicus P, Ring: secl. Riese, edd. 6 collantes P, def. Heraeus (cf. ed. m.): colligantes Bonnet, Riese, recte?, collocantes (eam in navi) Rossbach (1893) 1234, Schmeling (1988) 7 rediit Riese: petiit P 11 et insuper opus tuum P: insuper secl. Ring, Riese, cf. 10 13 habiit P 14-45 locus fort. hic illic interpolatus (cf. Klebs 33-35, 177), attamen genuinus 14 consiliata Ring, Riese: consilio P, consilio habito Klebs 33 n.2 15 posset Hunt apud Schmeling (1988): possit P 16 Stranquilionem P 20 salutaris P (forma haplographica, cf. salutarium pro saluatorium) 21 procellas Riese, Klebs 34, cf. 44, RA 9: procella P, Rα(φ), Ring

## RB 32

32. Et cum puella deum deprecaretur, subito piratae apparuerunt et videntes puellam sub iugo mortis stare, exclamaverunt: “Crudelissime barbare, parce! Tibi dico, qui ferrum tenes. Haec enim praeda nostra est, et non tua victima!” Villicus voce piratae territus fugit post monumentum. Piratae applicantes ad litus tulerunt virginem et alto pelago 5 petierunt. Villicus post moram exiit et videns puellam raptam a morte, egit deo gratias, quod non fecisset scelus. Et reversus ad sceleratam ait: “Quod precepisti, domina, factum est; comple, quod promisisti”. Scelerata ait: “Quid narras, latro ultime? Homicidium fecisti et libertatem petis? Repete ad villam et opus tuum fac, ne iratum deum et 10 dominum tuum sentias!” Villicus aporiatu ibat et levans manus suas ad dominum dixit: “Deus, tu scis, quod non feci scelus. Esto iudex”. Et reversus <est> ad villam.

RB 32 is continued on page 183

## bβ(M)π

1 dum π 2 clamaverunt βπ 3 barbare bβ: tiranne π | dico β: dicimus π, om. b 4 pyratarum π 5 applicati π | et bβ: om. π | alto pelago b, β(a. corr.), Va: altum pelagus π, alta pelagi β<sup>1</sup>, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 9,81 *pelagi petere alta* 6 moram b: mortem β (i.q. sepulcrum), modum π 7 fecisset b, S: fecit βπ 8 ait b: dixit βπ 9 ultime bβπ: pessime M 10 ad villam bβ: villam π 10-11 deum et dominum tuum b: deum tuum et me β, dominum tuum et me Mπ, *Riese* 11 manus suas b: manus βπ 12 dominum b, *Riese*: deum βπ 12 Deus, tu scis quod non feci scelus istud, iudex β: Deus iudex, tu scis quod non feci scelus istud Mπ 12 reversus est *Schmeling* (1994) 149: reversus b, *recte?*, rediit βπ.

## RA 32

25 Nunc vero propter civium curiositatem ad praesens indue vestes  
lugubres, sicut ego facio, et falsis lacrimis dicamus eam subito dolore  
stomachi fuisse defunctam. Hic prope in suburbio faciamus rogu<m>  
maximum, ubi dicamus eam esse positam”.

Stranguillio ut audivit, tremor et stupor in eum irruit et ita respon-  
dit: “Equidem da mihi vestes lugubres, ut lugeam me, qui talem sum  
30 sortitus sceleratam coniugem. Heu mihi! Pro dolor!”, inquit, “Quid  
faciam? Quid agam de patre eius, quem primo cum suscepissem, cum  
civitatem istam a morte et periculo famis liberavit, meo suasu egressus  
est civitatem; propter hanc civitatem naufragium incidit, mortem vidit,  
35 sua perdidit, exitum penuriae perpressus est: a deo vero in melius  
restitutus est. Malum pro bono, quasi pius, non excogitans neque ante  
oculos illud habuit, sed omnia oblivion<i> ducens, insuper adhuc  
memor nostri in bono, fidem eligens, remunerans nos et pios aesti-  
mans, filiam suam nutriendam tradidit, tantam simplicitatem et amo-  
40 rem circa nos gerens, ut civitatis nostrae filiae suae nomen imponeret.  
Heu mihi, caecatus sum! Lugeam me et innocentem virginem, qui  
iunctus sum ad pessimam venenosamque serpentem et iniquam coniu-  
gem!” Et in caelum levans oculos ait: “Deus, tu scis, quia purus sum a  
sanguine Tharsiae, et requiras et vindices illam in Dionysia”. Et  
45 intuens uxorem suam ait: “Quomodo, inimica dei, celare poteris hoc  
nefandum facinus?”

RA 32 is continued on page 184

**42-43**, cf. Matth. 27,24 Innocens ego sum a sanguine iusti huius.

**26** rogu<sup>m</sup> *Ring*, *Riese*: rogu P. **29-30** qui ... sum sortitus P (*indic.*), *def. Hunt* (1994) 319, cf. *infra* 39 qui iunctus sum **30** inquit P (*pleonastice*): *del. Schmeling* (1994) 149 **31** quem (*anakolouthon pro* qui primo, cum eum) P, *Riese*: qui Va, *Ring* **33** naufragi-  
um incidit P, *Ring*, *alii*: in n.i. *coni. Riese*, *Schmeling* (1988) **34** exitum P, Ra, *Ring*,  
*alii*: exitium *Riese* | perpressus est P, *Ring*, *alii*: perpressus *Riese*, *alii* **35** pro bono (*i.q.*  
vice boni) P, *edd.*: pro malo (*angl.* ‘in return for’) Ra, RC *aliquot codd.*, *Klebs* 34,  
*Schmeling* (1988) | quasi (*i.q.* ut, *gr.* ὥς) pius P: quasi impius RC, *Schmeling* (1988) |  
excogitans P (*partic. pro verbo finito*), *Ring*: excogitavit *Riese* | neque P, *Ring*, *Riese*:  
nunquam *Heraios*, *Peters* **36** oblivioni (*dat. finalis*) *Ring*, *Riese*, RC: oblivione P, *Klebs* 34,  
*Tsitsikli*, *alii*; in oblivionem Ra. **37** fidem P, *Riese*: fidem nostram Ra, *Klebs* 34  
**40** qui P, cf. *supra* 29: quia Va<sup>c</sup>, *Schmeling* (1994) 150 **41-42** et iniquam coniugem P,  
*Ring*: interpolata putant *Riese*, *Tsitsikli* **44** quomodo P: Quo *Ring*, *Riese* | poteris P:  
potes Va<sup>c</sup>

**RB 32**

RB 32 is continued on page 185



## RA 32

Dionysia vero induit se et filiam suam vestes lugubres, falsasque  
 infund<i>t lacrimas et cives ad se convocans, quibus ait: “C<arissimi>  
 cives, ideo vos clamavimus, quia spem luminum et labores et exitus  
 annorum nostrorum perdidimus: id est, Tharsia, quam bene nostis, nobis  
 50 cruciatus et fletus reliquit amarissimos; quam digne sepelire  
 fecimus”. Tunc pergunt cives, ubi figuratum fuerat sepulchrum a  
 Dionysia, et pro meritis ac beneficiis Apollonii, patris Tharsiae,  
 fabricantes rogum ex aere collato et scripserunt taliter:

DII MANES

55 CIVES THARSI THARSIAE VIRGINI  
 BENEFICIIS TYRII APOLLONII  
 <EX AERE COLLATO FECERUNT>.

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46 suam filiam Va<sup>c</sup> | lugubres vestes Va<sup>c</sup> 47 infundit *Heraeus*: infundet P; fundit *Ring, Riese* | cives ad se convocans, quibus ait P, *locum quamvis sanum alii aliter sanare conati sunt*, cf. ed. m., *Schmeling* (1988), *Hunt* (1999) 351-2 | Carissimi: kuum P, *ortum nimirum ex kũĩ* 52-53 et ... fabricantes ... et scripserunt P, *Ring, Riese*, recte 53 rogum P, *tangere non ausus sum*, cf. busta i.q. sepulcra 54 Dii Manes Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα(F) *retinui*, cf. *Proleg.* II.3 55 Tharsi Va<sup>c</sup>, P: Tharsis Rα(F), *Riese* (i.q. Θαρσεῖς/Ταρσεῖς) 57 ex ere collato fecerunt Rα(F) *addidi* (cf. ed. m.): *lacunam statuit Riese; om. P, Ring.*

## RB 32

Postera die prima luce scelerata, ut admissum facinus insidiosa  
 fraude celaret, famulos misit ad convocandos amicos et patriae princi- 15  
 pes. Qui convenientes consederunt. Tunc scelerata lugubres vestes  
 induta, laniatis crinibus, nudo et livido pectore adfirmans dolorem,  
 exiit de cubiculo. Fictas fingens lacrimas ait: “Amici fideles, scitote  
 Tharsiam, Apollonii filiam, hesternae die stomachi dolore subito in  
 villam suburbanam esse defunctam meque eam honestissimo funere 20  
 extulisse”.

Patriae principes adfirmationem sermonis ex habitu lugubri, fallacibus  
 lacrimis seducti, crediderunt.

Postera die placuit universis patriae principibus, ob meritum Apollo-  
 nii, filiae eius in litore fieri monumentum ex aere collato, non longe a 25  
 monumento Lycoridis, inscriptum in titulo:

THARSIAE VIRGINI APOLLONII FILIAE

OB BENEFICIA EIUS

EX AERE CONLATO DONUM DEDERUNT.

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**14-21** Cf. Xen. Eph. 3,12,6 **17** nudo et livido: *locus communis in litteris saecularibus*  
**25** in litore ... monumentum: *mentio solita in scriptis eroticis, cf. e.g. Charit. 1,6,5.*

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**17** livido bM: liquido βπ **18** exiit b: exiens βπ | fictas fingens bβ: fingens π, fictas  
 fundens *Riese* **19-20** in villa suburbana βπ **22** adfirmatione b | et fallacibus π  
**25** conlato (*ex -tu*) b: conlatum βπ, *item* 29 **26** inscriptum b: scribentibus βπ | in titulo  
*codd., Ring: hoc titulo coni. Riese* **27-29** *Ante verba Tharsiae virgini fort. iam in arche-*  
*typo interciderunt* Diis Manibus. Cives Tharsiae (*sc. civitatis*) vel Tharsi (*cf. 32, RA 55;*  
*38, RA 10*) **28** eius bβ: eius Tharsenses π **29** donum bβ: dono π.

## RA 33

33. Igitur qui Tharsiam rapuerunt, advenērunt in civitatem Mytilenem. Deponiturque inter cetera mancipia et venalis <in> foro proponitur. Audiens autem hoc leno, vir infaustissimus, nec virum nec mulierem voluit emere nisi Tharsiam puellam, et coepit contendere, ut eam  
 5 emeret. Sed Athenagoras nomine, princeps eiusdem civitatis, intelligens nobilem et sapientem et pulcherrimam virginem ad venalia positam, obtulit decem sestertia auri. Sed leno XX dare voluit. Athenagoras obtulit XXX, leno XL, Athenagoras L, leno LX, Athenagoras LXX, leno LXXX, Athenagoras LXXXX, leno in  
 10 praesenti dat C sestertia auri et dicit: “Si quis amplius dederit, X dabo supra”. Athenagoras ait: “Ego si cum hoc lenone contendere voluero, ut unam emam, plurium venditor sum. Sed permittam eum emere, et cum ille eam in prostibulo posuerit, intrabo prior ad eam et <eripiam> nodum virginittatis eius vili pretio, et erit mihi ac si eam emer<i>m”.
- 15 Quid plura? Addicitur virgo lenoni, a quo introducitur in saluta<to>rio, ubi habebat Priapum aureum, gemmis et auro reconditum. Et ait ad eam: “Adora n<u>men praesentissimum meum”. Puella ait: “Numquid Lam<p>sa<ce>enus es?” Leno ait: “Ignoras, misera, quia in domum avari lenonis incurristi?” Puella vero, ut haec audivit, toto corpore  
 20 contremuit et prosternens se pedibus eius dixit: “Miserere mei,

RA 33 is continued on page 188

Va<sup>c</sup>P

1 rapuerunt P, Ring, Riese: rapuerant Thielmann (1881) 40 | Mutilenē P, cf. Weyman (1893) 577: Mytilenen edd. 2 in foro edd.: foro Va<sup>c</sup>P 5 Athenagoras edd.: Antenagora P, ubique dubitanter correxī | nomine del. Hunt, Schmeling (1984) 13 eripiam Rα, Riese: arripiam P, Ring 14 emerim Riese, cf. emissem Rα(F): emerem P, Ring 15 salutatio Riese: salutatio P (forma haplographica), defendi potest 16 Priapum Rα: prapum in salutatio P, correx. et secl. edd. 17 numen Rα(F): nomen P 18 Lampsacenus Ring, Riese, cf. Lapsacenus Rα: lamsanus P | Post es lacunam statuit Riese (Praef., p.VI, n.1), vix necessario

## RB 33

33. Interea piratae, qui Tharsiam rapuerunt, in civitate Mytil<sup>til</sup>ena deponunt et venalem inter cetera mancipia proponunt. Et videns eam leno Ninus nomine, cupidissimus et locupletissimus, nec vir nec femina, contendere coepit, ut eam emeret. Et Athenagoras, princeps civitatis eiusdem, intelligens nobilem et sapientem pulcherrimam 5 puellam, obtulit decem sestertia. Leno ait: "Ego XX dabo". Athenagoras obtulit XXV, leno XL, Athenagoras obtulit LX, leno obtulit LXXX, Athenagoras obtulit XC, leno in praesenti dat C dicens: "Si quis amplius dederit, ego X sestertia superdabo". Athenagoras ait: Ego si cum hoc lenone contendero, ut eam emam, plures venditurus sum. 10 Sed permittam eam emere, et cum in lupanar constituerit, intrabo prior et eripiam virginitatem eius, et erit ac si eam comparaverim". Adducitur puella lenoni. Numeratur pecunia. Ducitur in domum, ducitur in salutatorio, ubi Priapum aureum habebat ex gemmis et unionibus. Et ait Tharsiae: "Adora <numen> praesentissimum". Puella ait: "Domine, 15 numquid civis La<m>psacenus es?" Leno ait: "Quare?" Puella ait: "Quia cives La<m>psaceni Priapum colunt". Leno ait: "Ignoras, misera, quia in domum incidisti lenonis avari?" Puella ut audivit, toto corpore contremuit et prostrata pedibus eius dixit: "Miserere, domine, succurre

RB 33 is continued on page 189

## bβ(M)π

1 Mytilena *edd.*: Militena b, β<sup>1</sup> (*ex*: Mealenta): Militana π 2 deponunt bβ: eam dep. π | proponunt b: ponunt βMπ 3 Ninus b, *Riese* (1872), *Garin* (1914) 205, n.2, *cf.* 40 RB, 19: Leoninus π (*a. corr.*), *praetulerunt multi* (*Klebs*, 39, 67; *Schmeling* (1988), *Merkelbach*, (1995) 13), Leoninius π, Lenonius β, Lenoninus M 4 coeperunt b | Athanagora b, Athenagoras π 5 intelliges b | sapientissimam π | pulcherrimam bβ: et pulcherrimam π 6-7 Athenagora obtulit ·XXV· bβ: *om.* π 7-9 Athenagoras obtulit <XXX>, leno XL, Athenagoras obtulit <L, leno> LX. <Athenagoras obtulit LXX>, leno obtulit LXXX κτλ.: *Tsitsikli*, *Riese*, *Schmeling expectata auctionis pretia lepide supplent* 7 leno<sup>1</sup> XL bβ: *om.* π | obtulit<sup>2</sup> bβ: *om.* π | LX βπ: XL b | obtulit<sup>3</sup> b: *om.* βπ 8 *dad* (*ex dat*) b 10 hoc βπ: *om.* b 11 permitto π | eam b: eum illam β, eum eam π | in lupanari π | constituerit b: instituerit β, statuerit et π | ego intrabo β 12 et erit ac si b: et ero quasi β, *om.* π | eam (b: illam β) comparaverim bβ: *om.* π | 12-13 Adducitur π, *Riese*: Adducitur bβ 13 Ducitur in domum, ducitur b, *Schmeling* (1994) 394: Ducitur βπ 14 salutatorio b: -rium π, salutorium β | *ex* βπ: et b 15 Tharsiae (*dat.*) b: ad Tharsiam βπ | Adora Mπ,β(Adhora): Adornamentum b (*corruptela ex Adora numen*) | numen RT, RBern, Rβ: *omis.* βπ, *latet in Adornamentum* b 16 Lampsacenus *edd.*: Laps- bβπ | Quare? Puella ait βπ: *om.* b 17 Leno ait βπ: *om.* b 18 avari? βM, *Riese*, *alii*: avari. bπ

## RA 33

domine, succurre virginitati meae! Et rogo te, ne velis hoc corpusculum [tu] sub tam turpi <tit>ulo <pro>stituere”. Cui leno ait: “Alleva te, misera: tu autem nescis, quia apud lenonem et tortorem nec preces nec lacrimae valent”. Et vocavit ad se villicum puellarum et ait ad eum:

25 “Cella ornetur diligenter, in qua scribatur titulus: Qui Tharsiam virginem violare voluerit, dimidiam auri libram dabit; postea vero singulos aureos populo patefit”. Fecit villicus, quod iusserat ei dominus suus leno.

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**21-22** tu P, *secl. Riese, edd.*, utpote ortum ex sequenti turpi **22** titulo prostituere Rα, *edd.*: prostibulo constituere P **24** valent. *Ring, Riese*: valent? *Weyman* (cf. ed. m.), alii **26** dimidiam auri [partem vel] libram P, *corr. Riese, alii* **27** patefit P, *Ring, Konstan*: patebit Rα, *Riese, Löfstedt* (1908) 80, (1936) 71 | [Postea vero] fecit P: *secl. edd.* **28** len°o P.

## RB 33

virginitati meae! Et rogo, ne velis hoc corpus sub tam turpi titulo 20  
 prostituere”. Leno ait: “Alleva te, misera; nescis, quia apud tortorem  
 et lenonem nec preces nec lacrimae valent”. Et vocavit villicum  
 puellarum et ait: “Amiante, cella, ubi <Breseida> stat, exornetur  
 diligenter et titulus scribatur: Qui Tharsiam violare voluerit, libram  
 auri mediam debet; postea singulos aureos populo patebit”. Et fecit 25  
 villicus, quod iusserat dominus eius.

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20 ne βπ: ut ne b | tam turpi titulo b: tam turpido β, tanta turpitudine π 21 prosti-  
 tuere bβ: mittere π | An nescis π 21-22 tortorem et (b, om. β) lenonem bβ: lenonem  
 tortorem dirum π 22 blande preces π | valent. bM: valent? βπ | villicum vocavit π  
 23 puellarum βπ: -is b, *item* 35, RB 10 | et ait bπ: ait β | Amiante: om. π | cella bβ:  
 Previde cellam π | Breseida stat *scripsi*, cf. Briseida stat γ: bresi ad//stat β (*ras. unius  
 litt.*), bresia stat π, om. b; Briseis *praefereunt Klebs 31, Schmeling (1988), Merkelbach  
 (1995) 13 23-24* exornetur diligenter: om. b 25 debet b: dabit βπ, *Riese* | postea βπ:  
 posterii b | singulos aureos bβ (*acc. pretii*): singulis aureis Mπ.

## RA 34

34. Tertia die antecedente turba cum <sy>mpho<ni>acis ducitur ad lupanar. Sed Athenagoras princeps affuit prior et velato capite ingreditur ad lupanar. Sed dum fuisset ingressus, sedit; et advenit Tharsia et proc<i>dit ad pedes eius et ait: “Miserere mei! Per iuventutem tuam te deprecor, ne velis me violare sub tam turpi titulo. Contine impudicam libidinem et audi casus infirmitatis meae vel origine<m> ste<mm>atum considera”. Cui cum universos casus suos exposuisset, princeps confusus est et pietate ductus vehementer obstipuit et ait ad eam: “Erige te. Scimus fortunae casus: homines sumus. Habeo et <ego> filiam virginem, ex qua similem possum casum <me>tuere”. Haec dicens protulit XL aureos et dedit in manu virginis et dicit ei: “Domina Tharsia, ecce habes plus, quam virginitas tua expostulat. Advenientibus age similiter, quousque liberaberis”. Puella vero profusis lacrimis ait: “Ago pietati tuae maximas gratias”.
- 15 Quo exeunte collega suus affuit et ait: “Athenagoras, quomodo tecum novitia?” Athenagoras ait: “Non potest melius; usque ad lacrimas!” Et haec dicens eum subsecutus est. Quo introeunte insidiabatur, exitus rerum videre. Ingresso itaque illo Athenagoras foris stabat. Solit<o> puella claudit ostium. Cui iuvenis ait: “Si salva sis, indica
- 20 mihi, quantum dedit ad te iuvenis, qui ad te modo introivit?” Puella

RA 34 is continued on page 192

### Va<sup>c</sup>P

1 symphoniacis Rα(φ): ymphonacis P **2-3** (ingreditur) ad lupanar P, *Riese*: lupanar Ring, Hunt (1983) n.11 **4** procidit Rα, *edd.*: -cedit P **6** infirmitatis P, Ring: infelicitatis *Velserus*, γ, *Riese*: tangere non ausus sum | originem stemmatum *edd.*: origine stemmatum P **9** ego Rα(φF), *edd.*: ē (i.g. enim) P **10** metuere Rα(φF), *edd.*: intueri P **12** plus P: amplius Va<sup>c</sup>, *Schmeling* (1988) **12-13** Advenientibus (*dat.*) P, cf. Hunt (1994) 317 **16** tecum novicia P, cf. Hor. Sat. 1,9,43: cum novicia Va<sup>c</sup> **17** Quo P: Quoquo Va<sup>c</sup> | exitus P, *retinui*: exitum Va<sup>c</sup> (cf. 34, RB 19), *Schmeling* (1988), *fort. recte* **19** Solito *scripsi*: solita P | Si P, *Riese*, *Szantyr* (1965) 658<sup>3</sup>: sic Ring

## RB 34

34. Tertia die antecedente turba et symphonia ducitur ad lupanar. Athenagoras prior adfuit et velato capite lupanar ingreditur. Intravit cellam et sedit in lectum puellae. Puella ex demonstrato ostium clausit et procidens ad pedes eius ait: “Miserere, domine! Per iuventutem tuam et per deum te adiuro, ne velis me sub hoc titulo humiliare. 5 Contine inpudicam libidinem et casus infelicissimae virginis audi et natalium meorum originem”. Cui cum universos casus suos exposuisset, confusus et pietate plenus abstinuit et ait: “Erige te. Scimus temporum vices: homines sumus. Habeo et ego ex amissa coniuge filiam bimulam, de qua simili casu possum metuere”. Dedit XL aureos 10 in manu virginis dicens: “Domina Tharsia, ecce habes amplius, quam virginitas tua venalis proposita est. De advenientibus age precibus similiter, quousque libereris”. Puella profusis lacrimis ait: “Ago, domine, pietati tuae gratias. Rogo, ne cui narres, quae a me audisti”. 15 Athenagoras ait: “Si narravero, filia mea, cum ad tuam venerit aetatem, patiatur similem poenam”. Et cum lacrimis discessit. Occurrit illi discipulus suus et ait: “Quomodo tecum novitia?” Athenagoras ait: “Non potest melius: cum magno effectu usque ad lacrimas!” Et secutus est eum ad videndum rei exitum. Iuvenis cum intravit, puella solito more ostium clausit. Cui iuvenis: “Si valeas, indica mihi, 20 quantum tibi dedit iuvenis, qui ad te intravit?” Puella ait: “Quater

RB 34 is continued on page 193

## bβπ

1 turba bπ: tuba (ex turba) β 2 primus π 3 ex demonstrato bβ: ex industria π 4 eius bπ: eius et β (a. corr.), ei β<sup>1</sup> | dixit π 5 dominum π | velis βπ: vell- b, item 35, RB 17 7 suos bβ: om. π 7-8 exponeret π 8 abstinuit b, cf. abstinuit se RT: obstupuit βπ 9 homines sumus bβ: et nos homines π 10 Dedit b: Et dedit βπ 12 virginitas tua venalis βπ: virginalis b | De codd.: Cum conī. Riese | (advenientibus) et b, Va: secl. edd. 12-13 age precibus similiter bβ: age similiter π 14 et rogo π | ne π: nec bβ | cui b, cf. infra 29: alicui βπ, Riese 16 similem patiatur π | Occurrit b: Occurrit itaque βπ 17 discipulus suus b: condiscipulus suus π, cum (ex con) discipulis suis β | novitia: om. b | Athenagoras ait: om. π, add. in marg. π<sup>1</sup> 18 Non βπ: O si b | effectu b: ergo affectu βπ 18-19 et secutus b: secutus βπ 19 rei b: eius βπ | exitum: om. b | cum b: ut βπ 20 valeas b: vales βπ 21 tibi dedit b: dedit tibi β, dedit π



## RA 34

ait: “Quater denos mihi aureos dedit”. Iuvenis ait: “Malum illi sit! Quid magnum illi fuisset, homini tam diviti, si libram tibi daret integram? Vt ergo scias me esse meliorem, tolle libram auri integram”. Athenagoras vero de foris stans dicebat: “Quantum plus dabis, plus  
 25 plorabis!” Puella autem prostravit se ad eius pedes et similiter casus suos exposuit: confudit hominem et avertit a libidine. Et ait iuvenis ad eam: “Alleva te, domina! Et nos homines sumus, casibus subiacentes”. Puella ait: “Ago pietati tuae maximas gratias”.

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25 pedes et ait et P, Ring: et ait secl. Waiblinger (1978), alii; post ait supplere vult Riese miserere mei, vix necessario.

## RB 34

denos aureos dedit mihi”. Iuvenis ait: “Non illum puduit? Homo dives  
 quid grande fecerat, si libram auri tibi complexisset? Et ut scias me  
 animo esse meliorem, tolle libram auri integram”. Athenag<oras> foris  
 audiebat et dicebat: “Plus dabis, plus plorabis!” Puella acceptis aureis 25  
 prostravit se ad pedes eius et similiter exposuit casus suos. Confudit  
 hominem et avertit libidinem. Et aporiatu iuvenis ait: “Alleva te,  
 domina! Et nos homines sumus: casibus subiacemus”. Puella ait:  
 “Ago, domine, pietati tuae gratias et peto, ne cui narres, quae a me  
 audisti”. 30

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22 dives b: locuples est βπ 23 quid βπ: quod b | fecerat *codd.*: fecisset *Schmeling* (1994) 395 | si βπ: sibi b 24 meliorem βπ, *Riese*: meliori b, *i.q.* meliore? | auri integram *om.* b | Athenagoras foris *scripsi*: Athenamaioris b, *qua in lectione latere credo* foris *vel* aforis: Athenagora β; Athenagoras π 25 plus<sup>2</sup>: *om.* b 26 casus suos π, *Riese*: casus β, casibus b 28 casibus bβ: et casibus π 29 et peto b: rogo et peto β, et rogo et peto π, *Schmeling* (1994) 395 | cui b, *cf.* 35, RB 3: cuiquam βπ, *Riese*, *alii*.

## RA 35

35. Et exiens foris invenit Athenagoram ridentem et ait: “Magnus homo es! Non habuisti, cui lacrimas tuas propinares!” Et adiurantes se invicem, ne alicui proderent, aliorum coeperunt expectare exitum. Quid plura? Illis expectantibus per occultum aspectum omnes, quicumque <in>ibant, dantes singulos aureos plorantes abscedebant. Facta autem huius rei fine obtulit puella pecuniam lenoni dicens: “Ecce pretium virginitatis meae”. Et ait ad eam leno: “Quantum melius est hilarem te esse et non lugentem! Sic ergo age, ut cotidie mihi latiores pecunias adferas”. Item ait ad eum puella altera die: “Ecce pretium virginitatis meae, quod similiter precibus et lacrimis collegi, et custodio virginitatem meam”. Hoc audito iratus est leno eo, quod virginitatem suam servaret, et vocat ad se villicum puellarum et ait ad eum: “Sic te tam negligentem esse video, ut nescias Tharsiam virginem esse? Si enim virgo tantum adfert, quantum mulier? Duc eam ad te et tu eripe nodum virginitatis eius”. Statim eam villicus duxit in suum cubiculum et ait ad eam: “Verum mihi dic, Tharsia, adhuc virgo es?” Tharsia puella ait: “Quamdiu vult deus, virgo sum”. Villicus ait: “Vnde ergo his duobus diebus tantam pecuniam obtulisti?” Puella dixit: “Lacrimis meis, exponens ad omnes universos casos meos; et illi dolentes miserentur virginitati meae”. Et prostravit se ad pedes eius et ait: “Miserere mei, domine, subveni captivae regis filiae!” Cumque ei universos casos suos exposuisset, motus misericordia ait ad eam: “Nimis avarus est iste leno. Nescio, si tu possis virgo permanere”.

A(inde ab (5) dantes)Va<sup>c</sup>P

4 expectantibus P, *Ring*, *Riese*: insidiantibus Va<sup>c</sup>, *Schmeling* (1988) 5 inibant *Ring*, *Riese*, cf. introibant Rα, *Hunt* (1994) 314: ibant P | Facta A: Acta P 6 rei AP: diei E. *Baehrens* (1871) 858, cf. 9 | finem A 8 latiores AP: largiores *Thielmann* (1881) 58 9 adferas A, *Riese*, edd.: exigas P, *Ring* | Item AVa<sup>c</sup>: Ite P | ad eum puella Va<sup>c</sup>: ad eum A, ad eam P 10 collegi Va<sup>c</sup>P, edd.: colligit A 11 eo quod A, Rα, *Riese*: quod P, *Ring* 12 servaret A, *Riese*: -sset P, *Ring* 14 esse? sic *distinx.* edd.: esse. A (P non *distinx.*) | adfert P, edd.: adferit A, Va, *forma optime defendenda* 15 nodum (ex nudum) A 16-17 Verum ... es A: om. P 18 duobus A: omnibus P | obtulisti A: abtulisti P, *inde* abstulisti *Schmeling* (1988), *Hunt* (1994) 317 19 dixit AP: ait Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα | lacrimis meis, sic *distinx.* *Riese*, cf. 20-21 | casos A, cf. (22), *retinui*: casus A<sup>1</sup>Va<sup>c</sup>P, edd. 20 miserentur A, Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα, *Riese*: miserti sunt P, *Ring*, edd. *complures* | virginitati (dat.) *codd.* | eius AP (sic) 21 miserere A, edd.: mi P, i.q. solito misericordiae (confusio signi abbreviationis, cf. 37, Ra 7 [app. crit.]) | ei A: om. P 22 casos A, cf. 19: casus P, edd. | motus misericordia *Riese*: motus -diam A, quod *defendi potest*; misericordia motus P, cf. 12, RA 16.

## RB 35

35. Et exiens iuvenis invenit Athenagoram ridentem et ait illi: “Magnus homo es! Non habuisti, cui lacrimas tuas propinares!” Et adiurati, ne cui proderent, tacentes aliorum coeperunt exitum expectare. Et insidiantibus illis per occultum aspectum omnes, qui intrabant, dantes pecuniam flentes recedebant. Facta autem huius rei fine infinitam 5 obtulit pecuniam lenoni dicens: “Ecce virginitatis meae pretium”. Et ait leno: “Quantum melius est hilarem te esse et non lugentem! Sic ergo age, ut cotidie ampliores pecunias afferas”. Et cum puella de lupanar reversa diceret: “Ecce, quod potuit virginitas”, hoc audito leno vocavit villicum puellarum et ait: “Amiante, tam negligentem te esse 10 non vides, ut nescias Tharsiam virginem esse? Si virgo tantum offert, quantum dat mulier? Duc eam in cubiculo tuo et eripe ei nodum virginitatis”. Cumque villicus in cubiculo suo duxisset, ait ad eam: “Verum mihi dic, adhuc virgo es?” Tharsia dixit: “Quamdiu deus 15 voluerit, virgo sum”. Villicus ait: “Vnde ergo his diebus tantas pecunias attulisti?” Puella prostravit se pedibus eius et dixit: “Misere-re, domine. Subveni captivae regis filiae: ne me velis violare”. Et cum ei casus suos omnes exposuisset, motus misericordia dixit: “Nimis avarus est leno; nescio, si possis ita perseverare”.

bβ(M)π

1-2 Magnus bβπ: Bonus M ('a man's man') 2 tuas bπ: om. β | propinares nisi me? π 3 ne cui βπ: nec b 4 insidiantibus βπ: insidiabant b, intuentibus π<sup>2</sup> 5 flentes: om. π | Facta b: Facto βπ | fine: om. b 6 lenone b 7 leno βπ: leon b | est bβ: te est π | te esse bβ: esse π | lugentem (ex lugientem) β 8 age, ut cotidie b, Hunt (1980) 36 | age cotidie, ut βMπ, Riese | Post puella add. cotidie βMπ 8-9 de lupanar b, retinui: de lupanari βπ 9 quod potuit virginitas b: q. p. virginitatis adquiri β, q. p. virginitate adquiri β<sup>11</sup>, Riese; quod potuit, virginitas acquirit π 9-10 leno vocavit leno π 10 puellarum π: -em β, -is b, cf. 33, RB 23 | Amiante bβ: Annuente π | te esse βπ: om. b 11 non vides: om. b | esse? π, Riese: esse. bβ | offert codd.: affert con. Riese 12 dat b: dabit βπ | cubiculum tuum βπ 13 cubiculum suum βπ 14 dic mihi π 15 villicus ait Vnde π, Riese: Vnde bβ 15-16 tantas pecunias his diebus π 16 attulisti bπ: abstulisti β, Riese. Post abstulisti Riese lacunam statuit, post 16 puella ingeniose Hunt (1994) 317: cum autem et forma sententiae et causa omissionis incerta sint (fortasse enim ex industria haec sententia omissa est) haec aliquo modo in textu indicare supersedi. 17 vellis b, cf. 34, RB 5 18 cum ei b: cum βπ 19 possis βπ, Riese: possit b (sc. leno).

## RA 36

36. Puella respondit: “Habeo auxilium studiorum liberalium, perfecte erudita sum; similiter et <ly>rae pulsu modulanter inlido. Iube crastina in frequenti loco poni scamnia, et facundia sermonis mei spectaculum praebeo; deinde plectro modulabor et hac arte ampliabo pecunia<s>  
5 cotidie”. Quod cum fecisset villicus, tanta populi adclamatio tantusque amor civitatis circa eam excrebuit, ut et viri et feminae cotidie ei multa conferrent. Athenagoras autem princeps memoratam Tharsiam integrae virginitatis et generositatis ita eam custodiebat, ac si unicam suam filiam, ita ut villico multa donaret et commendaret eam.

AVa<sup>c</sup>P

**1** *Totum caput locutionibus graecis scatet.* Puella A: T (*i.q.* Tharsia) P **2** similiter ... inlidor A: om. P | lyrae pulsu E. Baehrens (1871) 858, cf. lyre pulsum Rα(φF), Ring; repulsum A | inlidor A (ἐγκρούω, -ομαι ‘I play’), cf. Introd. IV.1: inlido Rα(φF), Ring (ill-); Riese con. lyrae, pulsu modulante, inludo, alii alia | crastina (*sc.* die, solita, praesertim graeca, ellipsis) A: crastina die P, Rα **3** scamnia A (*ex gr.* σκαμνία?: incertum, utrum talis scribendi ratio (propria posteriori Graecitatiti, cf. Soph., Lex.; Lampe, Dict., s.v. σκάμνος) attribuenda epitomae R (Gr), an vitium alicuius scribae censenda sit: scamna P, Rα, edd. | mei A, Rα: om. P **4** deinde A: et ac deinde P | plectro A: om. P | ampliabo A, Rα: ampliabor P | pecunias Ring, Riese: pecunia AP **6** excrebuit AP: excrevit con. Riese, excrebuit Tsitsikli (1981), cf. Souter, Dict. s.v. | et viri A, om. P **8** integre A: ἰγνῆ P, incerta solutione (in genere Ring; ingenuae Riese, Tsitsikli: priorem solutionem praefero) | et generositatis A: om. P | eam AP: iam Ring, Riese | custodiebat P, edd.: custodiebant A | hac A (*i.q.* ac) **9** filiam suam P, Rα | ita codd.: del. Schmeling (1994) 15 (*e. ditt.*), vix necessario, cf. RB 12.

## RB 36

36. Puella ait: “Dabo opera studiis liberalibus erudita; similiter lyrae pulsu modulanter inludo. Iube crastino in frequenti loco scamna disponi et facundia oris mei populum emerebor et casus meos omnes exponam. Quoscumque nodos quaestionum proposuerint, exsolvam et hac arte ampliabo pecuniam”. Quod cum fecisset villicus, omnis aetas 5 populi ad videndam Tharsiam virginem cucurrerunt. Puella ut vidit ingentem populum, introiit in facundiam oris studiorumque abundantiam; ingenio quaestiones sibi promebat et solvebat. Et fit ingens clamor, et tantus circa eam civium amor excrevit, ut et viri et feminae cotidie infinitam conferrent pecuniam. Athenagoras princeps civitatis 10 memoratam integerrimae virginitatis et generositatis diligebat eam ac si filiam suam, ita ut villico illi multa donaret et commendaret eam.

**b** (*desinit post* (5) pecuniam), **β(M)π**

**4** Cf. Aug., *Bapt.* 2,1,1 quando in aliquem nodum questionis inciderit.

**1** Puella ait: *om.* b | opera bM: operam (*sc.* studiis) βπ, *Riese* | erudita βπ: eruditam b  
**1-2** lyrae pulsu: pulsu lire π, pulse lire β **2** inludo b: ludo β, ludendo π | scamna π  
**3** facundia oris M, *edd.*: facundi amoris b, *inde* facundiam oris *Riese*: faciem oris βπ |  
populum emerebor b: populo βπ, populo emerebor *Riese* | meos omnes βπ: meos b  
**4** nodos b: modos βπ | questionum *codd.*, RB 5, Rβ (*cf.* Introd. VII.2.1): questionis  
βπ, *Riese*; questionem b | exsolvam b: exponam βπ **5** pecuniam b: -ias βπ | Quod  
π: Quos β **6** cucurrerunt *codd.*: cucurrit *Riese* **7** introivit π (*om.* in) | facundiam π:  
dam β **8** quaestiones β<sup>11</sup>: -nis βπ | sibi *codd.* | promebat β: -ponebat π **9** et viri β<sup>1</sup>π:  
viri (*a. corr.*) β **10** conferrent β: ei conferrent π, *Riese* **11** generositatis β: generosi-  
tatis sciens π | eam βπ: iam *Riese* **11-12** ac si β: ut π.

## RA 37

37. Et cum haec Mytilena aguntur, venit Apollonius post quattuordecim annos ad civitatem Tharsiam ad domum Stranguillionis et Dionysiae. Quem videns Stranguillio de longe, perrexit curso rapidissimo ad uxorem suam dicens ei: “Certe dixeras Apollonium perisse naufragi<o>; et ecce, venit ad repetendam filiam. Quid dicturi sumus patri de filia, cuius nos fuimus parentes? “ Scelera<a> mulier hoc audito toto corpore contremuit et ait: “Miserere! Vt dixi, coniunx, tibi confiteor: dum nostram diligo, alienam perdiidi filiam. Nunc ergo ad praesens indue vestes lugubres et finctas fundamus lacrimas et dicamus eam subito dolore stomachi interisse. Qui cum nos tali habitu viderit, credet”. Et dum haec aguntur, intrat Apollonius domum Stranguillionis, a fronte comam aperit, hispidam ab ore remov<e>t barbam. Vt vidit eos in lugubri veste, ait: “Hospites fidelissimi -si tamen in vobis hoc nomen permanet-, ut quid in adventu meo largas effunditis lacrimas? Ne forte istae lacrimae non sint vestrae, sed meae propriae?” Scelerata mulier ait cum lacrimis: “Vtinam quidem istud nuntium aliud ad aures vestras referret, et non ego aut coniunx meus. Nam scito Tharsiam filiam tuam a nobis subitaneo dolore stomachi fuisse defunctam”. Apollonius ut audivit, tremebundus toto corpore <ex>palluit diuque maestus constitit. Sed postquam recepit spiritum, intuens mulierem sic ait: “Tharsia, filia mea, ante paucos dies discessit. Numquid pecunia aut ornamenta aut vestes perierunt?”

## AVaP

3-4 Cf. Vulg., Tob. 11,6 vidit a longe <...> et currens nuntiavit viro suo dicens: Ecce venit filius tuus.

1 Mytilena *scripsi*: mutylena A, in mutilena P, Mitylenae Ring, Riese 2 annum P 3 Stranguillio P | cursu P 5 naufragio *edd.*: naufragium AP (*i.q.* -io) | repetendam A: petendam P | filiam suam P, Rα, *edd.* 6 Scelerata mulier Rα, Riese: in scelera. Mulier AP 7 Miserere A: mīe P (*i.q.* miserere an misericordiae?), cf. 35, RA 21 | Vt dixi AP, Rα: *praeunte Klebsio, p.33 olim deleui* 9 finctas A (*i.q.* fictas): functas P 11 credet P, *edd.*: credit A (*i.q.* -det?) 11-12 domum Stranguillionis A: cum Stranguillione P 12 fronte P: frontem A (*i.q.* -e?) 12 ab ore removet (-vit *edd.*) *scripsi*: ab orore movit A, amovere et aborrere movit P 13 lucubre A (*i.q.* lugubri) | ait A: et ait P 16 istud nuntium A: istum numptium P 17 vestras A: tuas Rα, om. P | referret P: referres A | scito A: cito P 18-19 defunctam AP: desumptam *coni. Riese* 19 tremebundus A: tremebundus ut audivit P (*per dittogr.*) | <ex>palluit *scripsi*: hac (A: ac P) palluit AP, *alii aliter* 20 constitit A: consistit P | recipit A (*i.q.* recepit) 21 sic ait A: scias P | filiam meam A (*i.q.* -a -a) | decessit P 22 veste A, *verisimilius i.q.* vestes P.

## RB 37

37. Et cum cotidie virgo misericordia populi tantas congerit pecunias in sinu lenonis, Apollonius venit Tharso quarto decimo anno transacto, et operto capite, ne a quoquam civium deformis aspiceretur, ad domum pergebat Stranguillionis. Quem ut vidit Stranguillio a longe, perrexit prior rapidissimo cursu et dixit Dionysiadi uxori suae: “Certe dixeras Apollonium naufragio perisse”. Illa respondit: “Dixi certe”. Stranguillio ait: “Crudelis exempli, pessima mulier, ecce venit ad filiam recipiendam. Quid dicemus patri de ea filia, cuius nos fuimus parentes?” Scelerata ait: “Miserere, coniunx! Confiteor: dum nostram dilexi filiam, perdidi alienam. Accipe itaque consilium: ad praesens indue lugubres vestes, fictas finge lacrimas: dicamus eam stomachi dolore nuper defecisse. Et cum tali habitu viderit, credet”. Et cum haec dicerent, intravit Apollonius domum, revelat caput, hispidam ab ore remouet barbam et aperit comam fronte, et vidit eos lugubres et maerentes. Dixit: “Hospites fidelissimi – si tamen hoc adhuc in vobis permanet nomen –, quid in adventu meo funditis lacrimas? Aut istae lacrimae non sunt vestrae, sed meae?” Scelerata cum in tormento esset, ait expressis lacrimis: “Vtinam tale nuntium ad aures tuas alius pertulisset, non ego nec coniunx meus. Nam Tharsia filia tua subitanea stomachi dolore defecit”. Apollonius autem hoc audito toto corpore tremebundus palluit diu. “O,” inquit, “Dionysia, filia mea, ut fingitis, ante paucos discessit dies. Numquid pecunia, vestes et ornamenta perierunt?”

$\beta(M)\pi$

17-18 Cf. Vulg. *Luc.* 16,23 cum esset in tormentis.

1 congereret  $\pi$  2 in sinum  $\pi$  | Tharsum  $\pi$  3 a quoquam  $\beta$ : cuiquam (*ex quoquam*)  $\pi$  4 pergebat  $\beta$ : tendebat  $\pi$  | a longe, *sic distinxi*, cf. 37, RA 3 5 Dionisiade  $\pi$  | coniugi  $\pi$  6 naufragum  $\pi$  7 Crudelis exempli, pessima  $\beta M \pi$ : Crudelis ... mulier *delendum* *indicat Riese* 8 recipiendam filiam  $\pi$  | patri ... filia: de ea filia patri  $\pi$  9 dixit  $\pi$  | nostram  $\beta$ : vestram  $\pi$  10 Accipe  $\beta$ : Cui Straguillio (*sic*) Accipe  $\pi$  11 fictas finge  $\beta \pi$ , cf. 32, RB 18: fictas funde *Riese*, *fort. recte* 12 tali habitu  $\beta$ : nos tali habitu *Riese*, talem abitum  $\pi$  | credet  $\pi$ : crede//et  $\beta$  (*ex crederet*) 13 revelat  $M \pi$ : relevat  $\beta$  14 a fronte  $\pi$  15 dixit  $\beta$ : et dixit  $\pi$  17 mee set vestre  $\pi$  18 expressit lacrimis  $\beta$  | talem  $\pi$  19-20 subitanea (dolore *fem.*)  $\beta$ : subitaneo (dolore *mas.*)  $\pi$ , *Riese* 20 dolore  $\beta$ ,  $\pi^1$  (*ex dolor*) | autem hoc audito *scripsi*: autem audito  $\beta$ , cf. *ed. m.*; hoc audito  $\pi$ , *Riese* 21 palluit *scripsi*: hoc palluit  $\beta$ , expalluit  $\pi$  | diu *om.*  $\pi$  | Post diu *lacunam statuit Riese*, *vix necessario* | O inquit  $\beta$ : dixitque O  $\pi$  | ut fingitis  $\beta \pi$ : *secl. Riese, Klebs, alii* 22 discessit dies. M: discessit dies?  $\beta$ , dies discessit  $\pi$ ; decessit dies *Riese*, *vix necessario*.



## RA 38

38. Scelesta mulier haec eo dicente secundum pactum ferens atque reddens omnia sic ait: “Crede nobis, quia si genesis permisisset, sicut haec omnia damus, ita et filiam tibi reddidissemus. Et ut scias nos non mentiri: habemus huius rei testimonium civium, qui memores benefici-  
 5 orum tuorum ex aere collato filiae tuae monumentum fecerunt, quod potest tua pietas videre”. Apollonius credens eam vere esse defunctam ait ad famulos suos: “Tollite haec omnia et ferte ad navem: ego enim vado ad filiae meae monumentum. “At ubi pervenit, titulum legit:

## DII MANES

10 CIVES THARSI THARSIAE VIRGINI, APOLLONII REGIS FILIAE,  
 OB BENEFICIUM EIUS, PIETATIS CAUSA  
 EX AERE COLLATO FECERUNT.

Perlecto titulo stupenti mente constitit. Et dum miratur se lacrimas non posse fundere, maledixit oculos suos dicens: “O crudeles oculi,  
 15 titulum natae meae cernitis, et lacrimas fundere non potestis! O me miserum! Puto, filia mea vivit”. Et haec dicens rediit ad navem atque ita suos adlocutus est dicens: “Proicite me in subsannio navis; cupio enim in undis efflare spiritum, quem in terris non licuit lumen videre”. Proiciens se in subsannio navis sublatis ancoris altum pelagus  
 20 petiit, iam ad Tyrum reversurus.

AVa<sup>c</sup>P

2 genesis P 3 ita et A: itaque P 5 ex aere ... monumentum: filie tue monumen-  
 tum ex ere colato Va<sup>c</sup> 7 Tollit P 8 At ubi P, *edd.*: Adubi A, *quod defendi potest* | per-  
 venit A: venit P 9 Dii Manes AP, Rα, *cf.* 32, RA 54 10 Tharsi AP: Tharsis con. Riese |  
 Apollonii A: Appolini P 11 eius pietatis γ, Ring, Riese (ego distinxi, legendi causa) |  
 pietatis eius AP | causam AP 12 ex ere colato AP 15 potestis P, *edd.*: potetis A, *recte?*  
 15-16 O ... vivit om. Vélserus, iniuria, *cf.* Introd. V.1: Puto ... vivit om. Peters, iniuria  
 15 me A: om. P 16 Et hec A: Hec et P 17 subsann/ionavis A: subsannavio navis P,  
*corr.* Ring, Riese, *cf.* 19 18 spiritum A: spiritum meum, quem P 19 Post videre Ring,  
 Riese, Schmeling, alii finem capiti fecerunt. Vt ordo narrationis eodem loco dividatur quo in  
 RB, post reversurus intercidere malo. | subsannio navis A: subsanationem eius P  
 (i.q. in derisionem) | pellagus P: pelagum A, *quod defendi potest.*

## RB 38

38. Ex parte proferuntur omnia; et dicunt: “Crede nobis, quia filiam tuam cupivimus incolumem resignare. Et ut scias nos non mentiri, habemus rei huius testimonium: cives memores beneficiorum tuorum ex aere conlato in proximo litore filiae tuae monumentum fecerunt, quod potes videre”. Credens eam defunctam ad famulos ait: “Tollite 5 haec et ferte ad navem; ego vadam ad filiae meae monumentum”. At ubi pervenit, legit titulum:

DIIS MANIBUS

CIVES THARSIAE VIRGINI, APOLLONII TYRII FILIAE,

EX AERE CONLATO FECERUNT.

10

Perlecto titulo stupente mente constitit. Et dum se non flere miratur, maledicens oculos suos ait: “O crudelissimi oculi, potuistis titulum natae meae cernere, non potuistis lacrimas fundere? Heu, me miserum! Puto, filia mea vivit”. Et veniens ad navem ait ad suos: “Proicite me in sentinam navis; cupio enim in undis effluere spiritum, quem in 15 terris non licuit”.

### β(M)π

1 Ex parte βπ, RT, RE (i.q. *e loco aliquo secreto*): Ex pacto *Riese* | proferuntur omnia β: profundunt ea π | et βπ!: *om.* π 2 concupivimus π 3 rei huius β: ad rei π 5 potest videri π 8 Diis Manibus *codd.* 9 cives Tharsie (*dat.*) *codd.*, cf. 32, RB 27: cives Tharsi Tharsiae *Riese, eleganter sane* 11 stupenti π | flere miratur M: videret flere π: flere β 12 ait β: dixit π 13 fundere? βπ: fundere. *Riese* 15 effluere β (*causativ.*): efflare Mπ, *Riese*.

## RA 39

39. Qui dum prosperis ventis navigat, subito mutata est pelagi fides. Per diversa discrimina maris iactantur: omnibus dominum rogantibus ad Mytilenam civitatem advenerunt. Ibi Neptunalia festa celebrabantur. Quod cum cognovisset Apollonius, ingemuit et ait: “Ergo  
 5 omnes diem festum celebrant praeter me! Sed ne lugens et avarus videar! Sufficit enim servis meis poena, quod me tam infelicem sortiti sunt dominum”. Et vocans dispensatorem suum ait ad eum : “Dona X aureos pueris, et eant et emant quod volunt, et celebrent diem. Me autem veto a quoquam vestrum appellari; quod si aliquis vestrum  
 10 fecerit, crura ei frangi iubeo”. Cum igitur omnes nau<tae> Apollonii convivi<um> melius ceteris navibus celebrarent, contingit, <ut> Athenagoras, princeps civitatis, qui Tharsiam filiam eius diligebat, deambulans in litore consideraret celebritatem navium. Quique dum singulas notat naves, vidit hanc navem e ceteris navibus meliorem et ornatior  
 15 rem esse. Accedens ad navem Apollonii coepit stare et mirari. Nautae vero et servi Apollonii salutaverunt eum dicentes: “Invitamus te, si dignaris, o princeps magnifice”. At ille petitus cum V servis suis navem ascendit. Et cum videret eos u<ni>animes discumbere, accubuit inter epulantes et donavit eis X aureos et ponens eos supra mensam  
 20 dixit: “Ecce, ne me gratis invitaveritis”. Cui omnes dixerunt: “Agimus

RA 39 is continued on page 204

A (post 8 dominum desinit; incipit rursum 43, RA 2 Non), Va<sup>c</sup>P.

2 omnibus dominum rogantibus A: om. P 3 advenerunt A: de- P | Ibi A: Ibi P, edd. 6 Sufficit AP, Ring: Sufficiat Riese | poena A: om. P 10 omnes nautae dubitanter scripsi (cf. ed. m.): omnes naves P, recte? 11 convivium Riese: econvivio P | contingit P, Ring: contigit Rα, Riese: ut add. Ring, Riese: om. P 13 Quique P, Ring: Qui Riese, alii 14 e ceteris P, Riese: ceteris Ring, alii 17 princeps, magnifice interpunx. Riese 18 unianimes (forma vulgarior, i.q. unanimes) scripsi: unanimes Rα, Ring, Riese: ut inanimis P 19 X P: CC Va<sup>c</sup>

## RB 39

39. Et dum navigat prosperis ventis Tyro revers<ur>us, subito mutata  
 est pelagi fides. Per diversa maris discrimina iactatur; omnibus deum  
 rogantibus ad My<tile>nam civitatem devenerunt. Gubernator cum  
 omnibus plausum dedit. Apollonius ait: “Quis sonus hilaritatis aures  
 meas percussit?” Gubernator ait: “Gaude, domine, hodie Neptunalia 5  
 esse”. Apollonius ingemuit et ait: “Ergo hodie praeter me omnes dies  
 festos celebrent!” Et vocavit dispensatorem suum et ait: “Ne non  
 lugens, sed amarus esse videar! Sufficiat servis meis ad poenam, quod  
 me tam infelicem dominum sortiti sunt. Dona <X> aureos pueris, et  
 emant sibi, quae volunt, et diem festum celebrent. Me autem veto a 10  
 quoquam appellari. Quod si quis fecerit, crura illius frangere iubeo”.  
 Dispensator emit, quae necessaria erant <et rediit ad navem. Exornat  
 navigium et toti discubuerunt>. Et dum epulantur, Athenagoras, qui  
 Tharsiam ut filiam diligebat, deambulans et navium celebritatem consi- 15  
 derans, vidit navem Apollonii ceteris navibus pulchriorem et ornatio-  
 rem et ait: “Amici, ecce illa mihi maxime placet, quam video esse  
 separatam”. Nautae ut audierunt navem suam laudari, dicunt: “Invi-  
 temus principem”. “Magnifice, si digneris, descende ad nos”. Athena-  
 goras descendit, libenti animo discubuit, et posuit X aureos in mensa  
 dicens: “Ecce, ne me gratis invitaveritis”. Omnes dixerunt: “Bene nos 20

RB 39 is continued on page 205

### β(M)π

1 Tyro reversurus RE, *Riese*: Tiro reversus β<sup>1</sup>, Tirore versus β (*a. corr.*), Tyrum versus π  
 2 discrimina π (*haplographia*) | iactatur β, cf. 11, RB 10: navis iactatur π, iactantur *Riese* |  
 omnibus tamen π 3 Militenam civitatem β: Militanam urbem π 4-5 aures ... ait:  
 aures meas percussit. Gubernator dixit π<sup>1</sup> *in loco eraso* 5 Neptunalia π 6 ingemuit et:  
*om.* π 7 Et vocavit dispensatorem suum *Riese transpos. tacite post* 6 ingemuit,  
 cf. *Schmeling* (1988) 8 amarus βMπ: avarus RE, *Riese*, *Schmeling* (1988) 9 decem M  
 (RT, RSt, RE, RBern), cf. *infra* 19: ·C· βπ 11 frangi π 12 Dispensator ergo π  
 12-13 et rediit ... toti (*i.q.* omnes) discubuerunt M, *addidi* (cf. *ed. m.*) 14 et navium π,  
*Riese*: in navigium β 16 illa navis π | maxime placet mihi π | esse: *om.* π 18 princi-  
 pem magnifice: *distinx.* *Riese* | Magnifice ... nos: *om.* π | dignaris *Riese*, *Tsitsikli*  
 19 et libenti π

## RA 39

nobilitati tuae maximas gratias”. Athenagoras autem cum vidisset omnes tam licenter discumbere nec inter eos maiorem esse, <qui> pr<o>videret, ait ad eos: “Quod omnes libenter discumbitis, navis huius dominus quis est?” Gubernator dixit: “Navis huius dominus in luctu moratur et iacet intus in subsannio navis in tenebris: flet uxorem et filiam”. Quo audito dolens Athenagoras dixit ad gubernum: “Dabo tibi duos aureos et descende ad eum et dic illi: “Rogat te Athenagoras, princeps huius civitatis, ut procedas ad eum de tenebris et ad lucem exeas”. Iuvenis ait: “Si possum de duobus aureis IIII habere crura!”, et: “Tam utilem inter nos <tali> muner<i non> elegisti, nisi me? Quaere alium, qui eat, quia iussit, quod, quicumque eum appellaverit, crura ei frangantur!” Athenagoras ait: “Hanc legem vobis statuit, nam non mihi, quem ignorat. Ego autem ad eum descendo. Dicite mihi, quis vocatur?” Famuli dixerunt: “Apollonius”.

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22 licenter Rα(F), Ring, Riese: libenter Rossbach (1893) 1233 (cf. 23), diligenter P | qui δ, Riese, edd.: om. P 23 provideret scripsi: pre- P, Riese; alii aliter | libenter P, Ring: licenter Riese, Schmeling 26 gubernum Ring, Riese: gubernium Tsitsikli, guvernum P (fort. recte) 27 et<sup>1</sup>: tantum Hunt (1983) 340-41, laudans 41, RA 28 29 crura. Ring, Riese: crura? Heraeus (1893) ad loc. 30 et P: del. Schmeling (1988) 30 tali muneri non scripsi nisus prioribus coniecturis: muneri non Waiblinger (1978) 22, muneri Ring, mittere Riese, munere P, alii alia | elegisti Rα, Ring, Riese: elegistis P 32 nam (i.q. sed) non P, Ring.: non Rα, Riese, edd.

## RB 39

accipis, domine". Athenagoras videns eos unanimes discumbere, ait: "Quod omnes tam libentiose discumb<i>is, navis dominus quis est? " Gubernator ait: "Navis dominus in luctu moratur; iacet <in sub-  
san>nio navis; in tenebris mori destinatus: in mari coniugem perdidit, in  
terris filiam amisit". Ait Athenagoras ad unum de servis, nomine 25  
Ardalionem: "Dabo tibi duos aureos; descende et dic ei: "Rogat te  
Athenagoras, princeps huius civitatis: procede de tenebris ad lucem".  
Iuvenis ait: "Domine, non possum de duobus aureis IIII crura habere.  
Tam utilem non invenisti inter nos nisi me? Quaere alium, quia iussit,  
ut, quicumque illum appellaret, crura illius frangantur!" Athenagoras 30  
ait: "Hanc legem vobis statuit, non mihi, quem ignorat. Ego ad eum  
adscendam. Dic, quis vocatur?" Famuli dixerunt: "Apollonius".

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21 accipis π: -ies β 22 Quod β: Quando π | libentiose *codd.*; licentiose *Merkelbach apud Tsitsikli (1981)* | discumbitis π: -etis β 23 Cui gubernator π | luctu β 23-24 in subsannio *Riese* (in subsanio *Klebs* 67): sub bisanio βπ navis: in tenebris *distinx.* π: navis in tenebris β 25 de servis π: desideriiis β 26 Ardalionem π: Ardu- β 27 procede βπ: tantum procede *Hunt (1983) 340* 28 ·IIII·: duo π 29 iussit nobis π 30 appellaret βπ: -rit (*i.q.* appellaverit) *Riese, Schmeling (1988)*, nimis exacte | frangantur β<sup>1</sup>(*ex* -gatur), π 30-31 Ait Athenagoras π | vobis legem π 32 ascendam βMπ, (*sc. scalis navis*): descendam π<sup>1</sup> | Dic βπ: Dicite *Riese, Schmeling (1988)* | quid π, quod defendi potest.

## RA 40

40. Athenagoras vero ait intra se audito nomine: “Et Tharsia Apollonium <nominat> patrem”. Et demonstrantibus pueris pervenit ad eum. Quem cum vidisset squalida barba, capite horrido et sordido in tenebris iacentem, submissa voce salutavit eum: “Ave, Apolloni”. Apollonius vero putabat se a quoquam de <s>uis contemptum esse; turbido vultu respiciens, ut vidit ignotum sibi hominem honestum et decoratum, textit furore<m> silenti<o>. Cui Athenagoras, princeps civitatis, ait: “Scio enim te mirari, sic quod nomine <te> salutaverim: disce, quod princeps huius civitatis sum”. Et cum Athenagoras nullum ab eo audisset sermonem, item ait ad eum: “Descendi de via in litore ad naviculas contuendas et inter omnes naves vidi navem tuam decenter ornatam, amabili aspectu eius. Et dum incedo, invitatus sum ab amicis et nautis tuis. Adscendi et libenti animo discubui. Inquisivi dominum navis. Qui dixerunt te in luctu esse gravi; quod et video. Sed pro desiderio, quo veni ad te, procede de tenebris ad lucem et epulare nobiscum paulisper. Spero autem de deo, quia dabit tibi post hunc tam ingentem luctum ampliorem laetitiam”. Apollonius autem luctu fatigatus levavit caput suum et sic ait: “Quicumque es, domine, vade, discumbe et epulare cum <m>eis ac si cum tuis. Ego vero valde  
20 afflicto sum meis calamitatibus, ut non solum epulari, sed nec vivere

RA 40 is continued on page 208

Va<sup>c</sup>P

2 nominat Rα (-avit φ), Ring: nominabat Riese: om. P 5 de suis Rα, Riese: d' qûis (i.q. quevis) P, inde de pueris Rossbach (1893) 1234, alii; de servis Ring 7 furorem silentio Rα: furore silentium P 8 te add. Ring, Riese 12 amabili aspectu eius P, lectio genuina, cf. Introd IV.2: eius P, secl. Ring, Riese, Schmeling (1984); et amavi aspectum eius Rα, quam lectionem iniuste praeferunt Hunt (1994) 316, Schmeling (1994) 151 12-13 ab amicis et nautis tuis P, Ring, Riese: a nauticis (Va<sup>c</sup>: nautis Rα) suis Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα; amicis et spuria putant Riese, Schmeling (1988), alii alia 14 Qui P, Rα, Ring: secl. Riese 14-15 pro desiderio P, Ring: del. Riese; alii alia 19 (cum) meis Rα: eis P (haplogr.)

## RB 40

40. Athenagoras ait intra se: “Et Tharsia patrem Apollonium nomina-  
bat”. Et demonstrantibus pueris pervenit ad eum. Quem ut vidit barba  
caput squalidum, in tenebris iacentem, submissa voce ait: “Apolloni,  
ave!” Apollonius putans se ab aliquo suorum contemni, turbulento  
<v>ultu respiciens vidit ignotum sibi hominem honesto cultu decoratum. 5  
Furorem silentio textit. Athenagoras ait: “Scio te mirari, quod ignotus  
homo tuo nomine te salutavit. Disce, quod princeps sum huius civita-  
tis, Athenagoras nomine. Descendens in litore ad naviculas contuen-  
das, inter ceteras vidi navem tuam decenter ornatam et laudavi. Nautis  
vero tuis invitantibus libenti animo discubui. Inquisivi dominum navis. 10  
Dixerunt in luctu morari; quod video. Prosit ergo, quod veni. Procede  
de tenebris ad lucem, discumbe, epulare paulisper. Spero enim de deo,  
quia dabit tibi deus p<ost t>am ingentem <luctum> et laetitiam amplio-  
rem”. Apollonius vero luctu fatigatus levavit caput et dixit: “Quisquis 15  
es, domine, vade <et discumbe>: epulare cum meis ac si cum tuis. Ego  
autem afflictus calamitatibus gravibus non possum epulari, sed nec

RB 40 is continued on page 209

### β(M)π

2 venit π 2-3 barbatum caput squalidum habentem π; barba horrida, caput squalidum *Riese* 3 submissa β: summa π, *item* 31 3-4 Apolloni ave M: Salve Appolloni π, *om.* β 4 suorum βπ, *Riese*: servorum RE(pr), *Klebs* 67 n.1, *Schmeling* (1994) 396 | contempni M: contemplari β, illudi π (*Tsitsikli*: “non male”) 5 vultu M: cultu βπ 7 salutavit βπ: salutavi M, *Klebs* 67, *edd.*, *eleganter* | ego sum π 8-9 contuendas π: committendas β 10 navis β: *om.* π 11 Dixerunt illum π 12 epulare nobiscum *Schmeling* (1994) 396 13 Post tam ingentem luctum RSt (*cf. ed.m.*): petitionem ingentem βπ, post tristitiam ingentem *Riese* 15 et discumbe: epulare M; epulare et discumbe βπ, *Riese* 16 non *codd.*: non solum *Schmeling* (1994) 396, non solum non *Hunt* (apud *Schm.*, l.l.), vix necessario



## RA 40

desiderarem”. Confusus Athenagoras subiit de subsannio navis rursus ad navem et discumbens ait: “Non potui domino vestro persuadere, ut ad lucem venire procederet. Quid faciam, ut eum a proposito mortis revocem? Itaque bene mihi venit in mente<m>: perge, puer, ad lenonem  
 25 illum et dic ei, ut mittat ad me Tharsiam”. Cumque perrexisset puer ad lenonem, <haec> leno audiens non potuit eum contemnere: licet autem contra voluntatem, [volens] misit illam. Veniens autem Tharsia ad navem, videns eam Athenagoras ait ad eam: “Veni huc ad me, Tharsia domina; hic <est> enim ars studiorum tuorum necessaria, ut  
 30 consoleris dominum navis huius et horum omnium, sedentem in tenebris hortaris consolationem recipere, et eum provocas ad lumen exire, lugentem coniugem et filiam. Haec est pietatis causa, per quam dominus omnibus fit propitius. Accede ergo ad eum et suade exire ad lucem; forsitan per nos deus vult eum vivere. Si enim hoc potueris  
 35 facere, XXX dies a lenone te redimam, ut devotae virginitati tuae vacare possis; et dabo tibi insuper decem sestertia auri”. Audiens haec puella constanter descendit in subsannio navis ad Apollonium et submissa voce salutavit eum dicens: “Salve, quicumque es, laetare: non enim aliqua ad te consolandum venit polluta, sed innocens virgo, quae  
 40 virginitatem meam inter naufragium castitatis inviolabiliter servo”.

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21 desiderarem P, *dubitanter retinui*: desidero Rα, -rem Rα(F), *Tsitsikli*; -arim Ring, *Riese* | rursus P: sursum Rα(F) 23 venire procederet P, Ring: [veniret] procederet *Riese* (sic), *alii alia* | Quid faciam P, Rα, Ring: Itaque (cf. 24) quid faciam *Riese* 24 Itaque bene P, Rα, Ring: Bene *Riese* | in mentem Rα, *Riese*: in mente P, Rα(φ), Ring 26 haec Ring, *Riese*: et P 27 contra voluntatem, [volens] *scripsi*: contra voluntatem, volens P, *alii alia* | Veniens P, Rα, *Rossbach* (1893) 1233, cf. *Schmeling* (1994) 151: Veniente Ring, *Riese* 29 est enim Rα(φF): enim P, Ring; est Rα, *Riese* 31 hortaris P: et hortaris Rα(F), *Schmeling* (1988), *Hunt* (1994) 308, *sane eleganter* | lumen P: lucem Va<sup>c</sup>, cf. 39, RA 28 32-34 Haec ... vivere: *interpolata credunt Klebs* (269) *eiusque sequaces: nihil mutandum, cf. Introd II.3.1* 33 omnibus P, Ring: hominibus *Riese* | suade P, *Riese*: suade ei Rα(φ), suade eum Rα, Ring 34 nos Rα, *edd.*: vos P 35 XXX P, RB: *scribendumne* <intra> XXX ? 39 venit P, Rα(φF), Ring: veni Rα, *edd.* | polluta Rα, *edd.*: impolluta P

## RB 40

vivere volo". Athenagoras confusus ascendit in navem et discumbens dixit: "Non potui persuadere domino vestro, ut vel ad lucem rediret. Quid enim faciam, ut eum revocem a proposito mortis? Bene mihi venit in mentem: vade, puer, ad Ninum lenonem et dic illi, ut mittat 20 ad me Tharsiam. Est enim scholastica et sermo eius suavis, ac decore conspicua. Potest enim ipsa exhortari, ne talis vir taliter moriatur". Leno cum audisset, nolens dimisit eam. Et veniente Tharsia dixit Athenagoras: "Domina, hic est ars studiorum tuorum necessaria: 25 consolans navis huius dominum sedentem in tenebris, coniugem lugentem et filiam, exhorteris ad lucem exire. Haec est pars pietatis, causa, per quam deus fit hominibus propitius. Accede ergo et suade ei exire ad lucem: forsitan per nos vult deus eum vivere. Si enim hoc potueris facere, dabo tibi ducenta sestertia et XX aureos, et XXX dies te redimam a lenone, ut melius possis virginitati tuae vacare". Puella 30 audiens haec constanter accessit ad hominem et submissa voce salutavit eum dicens: "Salve, quisquis es, iuvenis. Salve et laetare. Non enim aliquo polluta ad te consolandum adveni, sed innocens virgo, quae virginitatem meam inter naufragia castitatis inviolabiliter servo".

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17 dicumbens β 18 vel βπ: *del. Hunt (1980) 34-35, fort. recte* 19-20 venit mihi π 20 Ninum *scripsi, cf. 33, RB 3: Leoninum βπ, Riese; Leonium β<sup>II</sup>* 21 ad me β: mihi π | enim β: *om. π, eum Riese* 23 dixit ei π 25 navis huius β: huius navis π<sup>I</sup>, *Tsitsikli* 26 exorteris, queso π | ad lucem exire β, β<sup>II</sup> (redire): ad salutem venire π 27 per quam deus fit M: per quas fit β, pro qua fit π | hominibus propitius β: propitius deus hominibus π 28 deus eum β: eum deus π 29 ducenta sestertia et XX aureos βπ: decem sestertia auri *Schmeling (1988)* 30 redimam te π 31 haec: hoc π | submissa β: summa π, *cf. 3* 32 iuvenis *codd.: addubitat Tsitsikli ("mirum"), del. Schmeling (1994) 389, 396; nihil tangendum, cf. 34, RA/RB 4* 33 aliquo β: ab ab (*sic*) aliquo M, aliqua π, *E. Baehrens (1871) 858, Riese, Schmeling.*

## RA 41

41. His carminibus coepit modulat<a> voce canere:

“Per sordes gradior, sed sordis conscia non sum,  
sicut rosa in spinis nescit compungi mucrone.

Piratae me rapuerunt gladio ferientes iniquo.

5 Lenoni nunc vendita numquam violavi pudore<m>.

Ni fletus et lucti et lacrimae de amissis inessent,  
nulla me melior, pater si nosset ubi essem.

Regio sum genere et stirpe propagata p<r>iorum,  
sed contemptum habeo et iubeor adeoque laetari!

10 Fige modum lacrimis, curas resolve dolor<u>m,  
redde caelo oculos et animum ad sidera tolle!

Aderit ille deus creator omnium, auctor:

qui non sinit hos fletus casso dolore reli<n>qui!”

Ad haec verba levavit caput Apollonius et vidit puellam, et ingemuit et

15 ait: “O me miserum! Quamdiu contra pietatem luctor?” Erigens se

RA 41 is continued on page 212

Va<sup>c</sup>P

5 cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4,27 ante pudor, quam te violo 10 cf. Verg., *Georg.* 1,302 invitat genialis hiems curasque resolvit 11 cf. Verg., *Aen.* 9,637 animosque ad sidera tollunt 12 cf. Ambros., *Hymn.* (ed. G.M. Dreves, AHMA 50, Leipzig 1907 [1961]) 13,7 Deus, creator omnium / Polique rector

1 modulata Rα: -o P 2 Per Rα, *edd.*: Media per Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα(F) 3 sicut P: sic *Schmeling* (1988) 4 rapuerunt (?) P, Rα | ferientes P, Rα(φ), *Ring*, *Riese*: ferientis (sc. Theophili, cf. RB et 31, RA 29 sqq.) Rα (LGAttr.), *Fürtner* (1881) 349, alii (inter quos *Schmeling* [1984]) 5 Lenoni nunc vendita sum, set Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα: sum, sed *secl. Riese*, *Klebs* 184, *edd.* | pudorem Rα: -e P 6 Ni *Riese*: Nisi Va<sup>c</sup>P | et lucti(!) et P: luctus *Merkelbach apud Tsitsikli* 41, RB 6 | de amissis parentibus Va<sup>c</sup>P: parentibus *secl. Riese* | inessent Va<sup>c</sup>P: essent *Schmeling* (1988) 7 melior Va<sup>c</sup>P: nobilior Va, nobilior me nulla *Merkelbach*, l.l. 8 genere orta Va<sup>c</sup>P, *Ring*: orta *secl. Rα*, *Riese* | priorum *Riese*: piorum Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα, *Ring*, *edd.* 9 iubeor *Riese*, *edd.*: iubeor P, Va | adeoque *Riese* (i.q. adeo): ad eo quandoque Va<sup>c</sup>(sic), quandoque Va, a deo quandoque P 10 dolorum Va, *Ring*, *Riese*: -em P, Rα 11 celo oculos Va<sup>c</sup>P, *Heraeus* (1893), *retinui*: oculos caelo *edd.* | animum P, *Ring*, *Riese*: animos Rα, *Klebs* 184, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 9, 637 12 ille Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα(φF): tibi Rα, *Klebs* 185 n.1 | auctor P, Rα: et auctor Rα(F), *edd.*, *eleganter sane* 13 sinit P, Rα(F), *Ring*: -et *Riese*, *Klebs* 185 | relinqui *edd.*: reliqui P

## RB 41

41. Et his carminibus modulata voce cantare exorsa est:

“Per sordes gradior, et sordis conscia non sum,  
sicut rosa in spinis nescit compungi mucrone.

Piratae me rapuerunt gladio ferientis iniqui.

Lenoni nunc vendita numquam violavi pudorem.

5

<N>i fletus et lacrimae aut luctus de amissis inessent,

nulla me nobilior, pater si nosset, ubi essem.

Regio sum genere, stirpe procreata priorum.

Et deo iubente iubeor quandoque laetari.

Fige modum lacrimis, curas resolve doloris,

10

redde caelo faciem, animos ad sidera tolle!

Aderit <ille> deus, creator omnium et auctor,

qui non sinit hos fletus casso labore relinquī!”

Ad haec Apollonius levavit caput et videns puellam ingemuit et ait:

“Audi me miserum! Contra pietatem quamdiu luctabor?” Et erigens se 15

RB 41 is continued on page 213

## β(M)π

2 et (*i.q.* et tamen) β: set π 3 sicut ... mucrone β: set velud in spinis nescit rosa puncta mucronis π, *emendandi conatu ut in sequentibus* 4 Me pyrata rapit π | ferientis βMπ: -es *Riese*, *alii alia* 5 Lenoni π: -e β | Lenoni ... pudorem: Lenoni numquam violavi vincta pudorem π 6 Ni *Riese*: Si βMπ | et β: *om.* π 7 nulla me nobilior β: Nobilior nulla π, nobilior me nulla π<sup>1</sup>, *Merkelbach apud Tsitsikli* | pater si nosset β: patre me si sciret π, pater si sciret π<sup>1</sup> 8 Regio sum βπ: regali *Merkelbach* | stirpe β: et stirpe π | priorum π, *Riese*: prior β, piorum RBern, *Klebs* 183 n.9 (*fort. recte*) 9 Et β(?): Atque π, *continuans* iubente deo quandoque dolore levabor, *quam lectionem in textum recepit Schmeling* (1988) | iubeor β: -ar M | letari M: lectori β 10 Fige M: Finge π, Fide β | resolve β: dissolve π 11 celo β: polo π | faciem atque *Tsitsikli* 12 Aderit ille *Riese*: Aderit nempe M, Mox aderit π, Aderit β, *Klebs* 183: *fort. iam in archetypo vox nescioquae intercidit* | deus creator omnium β: dominus deus omncreator π 13 qui non sinit β: nec sinet π, *Schmeling* (1988); *alii alia* | labore β: merore π 14 haec: hoc π 15 Audi β: Heu π

## RA 41

- ergo adsedit et ait ad eam: “Ago prudentiae et nobilitati tuae maximas gratias; consolationi tuae hanc vocem rependo, ut m<e>r<i>to> tuo: quandoque, si laetari mihi licuerit et regni mei vires relevem, si<c> forsitan, ut dicis te regiis natalibus orta<m>, tuis te parentibus repraesento. Nunc  
20 ergo accipe aureos ducentos et ac si in lucem produxeris me, gaude. Vade; et rogo, ulterius non me appelles: recentem enim mihi renovasti dolorem”. Et acceptis ducentis aureis abscessit de illo loco. Et ait ad eam Athenagoras: “Quo vadis, Tharsia? Sine effectu laborasti? Num potuimus facere misericordiam et subvenire homini interficienti se?”  
25 Et ait ad eum Tharsia: “Omnia, quaecumque potui, feci, sed datis mihi CC aureis rogavit, <ut abscederem>, asserens renovato luctu dolore cruciari”. Et ait ad eam Athenagoras: “Ego tibi modo CCCC aureos dabo, tantum descende ad eum: refunde ei hos CC, quos tibi dedit; provoca eum ad lumen exire, dicens ei: “Ego non pecuniam, salutem tuam quaero”. Et descendens Tharsia ad eum ait: “Iam si <in hoc> squalore permanere diffinisti, pro eo quod pecunia ingenti me honorasti, permitte me tecum in his tenebris miscere sermonem. Si enim parabolarum mearum nodos absolveris, vadam; sin aliter, refundam tibi pecuniam, quam mihi dedisti, et abscedam”. At ille, ne  
30 videretur pecuniam recipere, simul et cupiens a prudenti puella audire sermonem, ait: “Licet in malis meis nulla mihi cura suppetit nisi flendi et lugendi, tamen – ut hortamento laetitiae caream – dic, quod in<ter>rogatura es, et abscede. Deprecor, ut fletibus meis spatium tribuas”.

**21-22** cf. Verg., *Aen.* 2,3 Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem, cf. 16, RA 4 **32-42**, RA 10, cf. Ioseph., *Ant. Iud.* 8, 143.146.148; c. *Ap.* 1.17 (111, 114-115).18 (120) (*certamen aenigmatum inter Salomonem et Hiram, regem Tyri*, cf. *Introd.* V.2.3) **38-39** cf. *Vulg.*, *Iud.* 16,16 spatium ad quietem non tribuens.

**17** vocem P, †vocem *Riese*: vicem Rα(φF), *Ring* **17-18** merito tuo: quandoque *Heraeus* (1893) ad loc.: mortuo quandoque P, memor tui sim quandoque Rα, *alii alia* **18** et regni mei vires relevem P, *Weyman* (1893) 382 | sic *Ring*, *Riese*: si P **19** ortam Rα(φF), *Ring*, *Riese*: orta P (i.q. ortam?) **21** non P, recte, cf. *Blaise*, *Dict. s.v.*: ne *Riese*, *Schmeling* (1994) 154 **23** laborasti? *Ring*, *Riese*, *edd.*: laborasti. P, Rα | Num P: non Rα **26** rogavit me Va<sup>c</sup>Rα | ut abscederem Rα(F,L), *Klebs* 62, *Hunt* (1983) n.17: abscedere *Ring*, *Riese*, *elegantur sane*; om. P **26-27** asserens <se> ... cruciari *Hunt* (1983) 338, cf. luctu se dolore Rα(LG) | luctu dolore P, Rα(φ), *Ring*: luctu et dolore *Riese*, luctus dolore *Brakman* (1921) 112 **29** lumen P: lucem Va<sup>c</sup>, cf. 40, RA 31 **30-31** in hoc Rα(φ, LG): in *Ring*, *Riese*; om. P **31** diffinisti P, Rα, *Ring*: definisti *Riese*, *edd.* | pecunia Rα: pecuniam P, pec. tuam Va<sup>c</sup> **32** honorasti Rα, *Ring*, *Riese*, *edd.*: honerasti Va<sup>c</sup>P; one- Rα(Atr.) **36** suppetit P, Rα, *edd.*: -at Rα(φF) **37** caream P, *Riese*: -at *Ring* **38** interrogatura Rα: introgatura P.

## RB 41

resedit et ait ad eam: “Ago prudentiae tuae et nobilitati tuae gratias, et consolationi tuae hanc vicem rependo, ut mereris : quandoque, si mihi laetari licuerit, regni mei viribus <te> relevabo, et forsitan, ut dicis te regiis ortam parentibus ac natalibus, repraesentem. Nunc accipe ducentos aureos, ac si me in lucem perduceres: laeta discede. Nolo me ulterius appelles. Recenti enim <luc>tu ac renovata crudelitate tabesco”. Et acceptis ducentis aureis abire cupiebat. Et ait ad eam Athenagoras: “Quo vadis, Tharsia? Sine effectu laborasti? Non potuimus facere misericordiam et subvenire homini se interficienti?” Et ait Tharsia: “Omnia, quae potui, feci, et datis mihi ducentis aureis rogavit, ut discederem, asserens se renovato dolore torqueri”. Et ait Athenagoras: “Ego tibi quadringentos aureos dabo; tantum descende et refunde ei hos ducentos, quos tibi dedit, et dic ei: “Ego salutem tuam, non pecuniam quaero”. Et descendens Tharsia sedit iuxta eum et ait: “Iam si in isto squalore permanere definisti, permitte me tecum vel in istis tenebris miscere sermonem. Si enim parabolarum mearum nodos absolveris, vadam; sin aliud, refundo tibi pecuniam tuam et abscedam”. Apollonius, ne pecuniam repetere videretur et cupiens a prudenti puella audire, ait: “Licet in malis meis nulla mihi cura suppetit nisi flendi et lugendi, tamen – ut careat ornamento laetitiae – dic, quod interrogatura es et abscede. Peto enim, ut fletibus meis spatium tribuas”.

16 Ago π, *Riese*: Ergo β | tuae<sup>1</sup>: om. π 17 ut β: ut sicut π | mereris π: merear β, del. *Riese* 18 te relevabo scripsi, cf. regni mei te viribus relevabo RE(q): relevabo β<sup>II</sup> (ex: revolabo β), *Riese*: tuam paupertatem relevem π 19 ortam β<sup>II</sup> (ex -a β), π | ac βπ: fort. delendum et distinguendum parentibus, natalibus representem, cf. RA 19 20 ac β: et ac π, *Riese* 21 luctu RT, RSt, RE, Rβ, *Riese*: vultu β, vulnere π | crudelitate codd. 22 aureis ·CC· (?)π 23 laborasti? β<sup>II</sup>π, *Riese*: laborasti. β 25 et codd.: sed *Tsitsikli* 26 renovato se π 29 dixit π 30 definisti β: desideras π 32 refundo codd.: -am *Riese* 34 audire (solita ellipsi, sc. sermonem) βπ, *Riese*: audire sermonem M | suppetit β, *Riese*: -at π 35 careat ornamento β: careant ornamenta π, caream -o *Tsitsikli*.

## RA 42

42. Et ait ad eum Tharsia:

“Est domus in terris clara quae voce resultat.

Ipsa domus resonat, tacitus sed non sonat hospes.

Ambo tamen currunt, <hospes simul et domus> una.

- 5 Si ergo, ut adseris, rex es – in mea patria nihil enim regi prudentius esse convenit –, solve mihi quaestionem et vadam”. Et agitans caput Apollonius ait: “Vt scias me non esse mentitum: domus, quae in terris resonat, unda est: hospes huius domus tacitus piscis est, qui simul cum domo currit. Admirat<ur> puella hinc in explanatione magna vere  
10 regem esse et acrioribus eum quaestionibus pulsata et ait:

“Dulcis amica ripae, semper vicina profundis,

suave canens Musis, nigro perfusa colore,

nuntia sum linguae, digitis signata magistri”.

- Et ait ad eam Apollonius: “Dulcis amica dei, quae c<antu>s suos mittit  
15 ad caelum, canna est, ripae semper vicina, quia iuxta aquas sedes collocatas habet. Haec nigro perfusa colore, nuntia <est> linguae”.

RA 42 is continued on page 216

### Va<sup>c</sup>P

**c.42-43** Sequuntur decem aenigmata e collectione quadam, quae sub nomine Symphosii feruntur, sed leviter adaptata. Etiam solutiones saepius discrepant cum suis aenigmatibus. Glossemata in app. crit. retrusi.

**c.42 2-4** Symph. (ed. Shackleton Bailey), *Aen.* 12 Flumen et piscis **11-13** Symph., *Aen.* 2 Harundo **13** cf. Coripp., *Ioh.* 4,576 digitis pulsanda magistri

2 clara que Rα: clareque P 4 hospes simul et domus Rα, Ring, Riese: in domo P 5 mea P: ea Ring, tua Riese, alii aliter (vide Schmeling (1984)) | enim Ring, Riese: cā (i.q. causa) P | regi P, Schmeling (1984), Hunt (1994) 309, cf. RB 5: rege Ring, Riese 6 et vadam P, Rα, Ring, cf. Introd. V.2.3: del. Velsus, Riese, alii 9 currit id est unda P: del. Ring, Riese | Admiratur Riese: Admirat P, Ring, Ammirata Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα 9-16 Ammirata ... linguae [ex ea natum, quod per eam transit] in margine adscriptum cum glossemate Va<sup>c</sup> 9 hinc Va<sup>c</sup>P, Ring: hunc con. Riese | explanatione magna Va<sup>c</sup>, edd.: -em -am P 10 eum questionibus Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα(φF), Riese: cum quaestionibus eum Ring: eum quest. eum P (per dittogr.) 11 ripe Va<sup>c</sup>P, retinui: dei Rα, Ring, cf. 14 12 colore Va<sup>c</sup>P, edd.: calore P 13 magistri Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα(φF): magistris Rα, Symph., l.l. 14 cantus RSt, Riese, Klebs: occentus Ring; centros Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα 15 celos Va<sup>c</sup> 16 est Ring, Riese: sunt Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα(φF) | linguae [ex ea (sc. interpretatione) natum quod (sc. vox) per eam transit] Va<sup>c</sup>P: glossema secl. Ring, Riese (aliter Schmeling (1984))

## RB 42

42. Et ait Tharsia:

“Est domus in terris, clara quae voce resultans.

Ipsa domus resonat, tacitus sed non sonat hospes.

Ambo tamen currunt, hospes simul et domus una”.

Et ait ad eum: Si rex es, ut asseris, in patria tua, – regi enim nihil 5  
convenit esse prudentius – solve mihi quaestionem, et vadam”. Apollo-  
nius caput agitans ait: “Vt scias me non esse mentitum: domus, quae  
in terris resonat, unda est; hospes huius domus tacitus piscis est, qui  
cum domo sua currit”.

RB 42 is continued on page 217

### β(M)π

**c.42-43** Septem ex decem Symphosii aenigmatibus, quae affert RA, leguntur in RB, nimirum  
(c.42) Aen. 12 Flumen et piscis; Aen. 13 Navis; Aen. 89 Balneum; Aen. 63 Spongia;  
(c.43) Aen. 59 Pila; Aen. 69 Speculum; Aen. 78 Scalae

**1** Tharsia: “Audi parabolam π, cf. supra 41, RB 31 **2** clara quae: clara quoque β<sup>II</sup> |  
resultans β<sup>II</sup>π: refultans β **5** regi β (a. corr.), Mπ, cf. RA 6: rege β<sup>I</sup> **5-6** nihil convenit  
esse prudentius β: prudentius nihil esse debet π | et vadam secl. Schmeling (1994)  
397, sed cf. RA 6 **7** agitans β: exagitans π | ait β<sup>II</sup>π: agit β | non esse mentitum β:  
talibus non esse ignarum π **8** est piscis π **9** cum β: in π



## RA 42

Item ait ad eum puella:

Longa fero<r> velox, formosa filia silvae,  
in<num>era pariter comit<um> stipata caterva.

20 Curro vias multas, vestigia nulla relinquo”.

Item agitans caput Apollonius ait ad eam: “O, si liceret mihi lo<n>gum  
deponere luctum, ostenderem tibi, quae ignoras. Tamen respondeo  
quaestionibus tuis; miror enim te <in> tam tenera aetate talem pruden-  
tiam habere. Nam longa, quae fertur, arbor est navis, formosa filia  
25 silvae; fertur velox vento repellente, stipata catervis; currit vias  
multas, sed vestigia nulla relinquit”. Item puella inflammata  
prudenti<a> quaestionum ait ad eum:

Per totas sedes innoxius introit ignis:  
circumdata flammis, hinc inde vallata, <nec uror>;

30 nuda domus est et nudus ibi convenit hospes”.

Ait ad eam Apollonius: “Ego si istum luctum possem deponere,  
innocens intrarem per istum ignem. Intrarem enim balneum, ubi hinc  
inde flammae per tubulos surgunt; ubi nuda domus est, quia nihil intus  
habet praeter sedilia; ubi nudus sine vestibis ingreditur hospes”.

RA 42 is continued on page 218

# 18-20 Symph., Aen. 13 Navis 28-30 Symph., Aen. 89 Balneum

18 feror, *edd.*: ferox P | formosa P, Rα(φ), *Ring*, *retinui*, *cf.* 24: formosae Rα, *Riese* (= *Symph. l.l.*) 19 innumera *Ring*, *Riese*: immunera turba P, *corr. et secl. Ring*, *Riese* *utpote glossema vocis caterva* | comitum Rα, *Riese*: comito P 20 relinquo P, Rα(φF): relinquens Rα(LGAtr)(= *Symph., l.l.*) 21 longum Va<sup>c</sup>: logum P 23 in tam tenera aetate *Ring*, *Riese*: vitam teneram aetate P 24 que fertur P, Rα, *Ring*: *secl. Riese* | formosa P, Rα(LGAtr), *Ring*: -sae *Riese*, *cf.* 18 25 repellente Va<sup>c</sup>P, *Ring*: pellente *Riese* 27 prudentia Rα, *edd.*: prudentie P | questionum Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα: *expectaveris* solutionum *Riese*, *Hunt* (1980) 30, *sed iniuria*, *cf.* *Introd. V.2.3* 28 sedes Va<sup>c</sup>P, *cf.* 34 sedilia: edes Rα(F), *cf.* RB | innoxius Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα, *Riese*: innocens Rα(φF) | introit ignis Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα(G Atr), *Riese*: currit ignis P, *alii alia* 29 circumdata ... vallata nec uror Va (neque consumor *add.* Va<sup>c</sup>), Rα(φF) (*Tharsia de se ipsa loquens introducit*): circumdata ... vallata P (*sc. domus: vide app. crit. versus sequentis*), *alii alia* (*cf. ed. m., Schmeling* 1988). 30 nuda domus est [nec ibi uror neque consumor] P, *secl. Riese* 31 Ait ad eam – 43, RA 2 comis Va<sup>c</sup> *partim in ras., partim in marg.* | istum P: istam Va<sup>c</sup> 32 innocens Va<sup>c</sup>P | in balneum Va<sup>c</sup> 33 tubulos Rα, *Riese*: turbulos Va<sup>c</sup>P, *Ring* | nuda Va<sup>c</sup>: unda P 34 nudus sine vestibis *codd.*: sine vestibis *del. Schmeling* (1994) 386

## RB 42

Et ait Tharsia:

“Longa feror velox, formosae filia silvae,  
innumeris pariter comitum stipata catervis.

Curro vias multas, vestigia nulla relinquo”.

10

Apollonius ait: “O, si laetum me esse liceret, ostenderem tibi, quae ignoras. Tamen ne ideo tacere videar, ut pecuniam recipiam, respondebo quaestioni tuae: miror enim te tam tenerae aetatis huius esse prudentiae. Nam longa arbor est <navis>, formosae filia silvae; fertur velox vento pellente, stipata catervis; vias multas currit undarum, vestigia nulla relinquit”.

15

Puella inflammata prudentia solutionum ait:

20

“Per totas aedes <...> intro per ignes:

circumdata flammis, hinc inde vallata, nec uror;

nuda domus <est et> nudus ibi convenit hospes”.

Apollonius ait: “Ego si luctum deponerem, innocens intrarem in ignes.

Intrarem enim in balneum, ubi hinc inde flammae per tubulos surgunt.

25

Nuda domus, quia nihil intus nisi sedile, ubi nudus hospes sudabit”.

RB 42 is continued on page 219

12 innumeris ... stipata catervis  $\pi$ , *Riese*: innumerum (*adv.*) ... stipata catervis  $\beta$ , innumera ... stipante caterva M, *cf.* Verg. *Aen.* 1,497 | pariter comitum  $\beta$ : rerum pariter  $\pi$  16 te tam  $\beta$ : tantam  $\pi$  | huius aetatis  $\pi$  17 prudentiam  $\pi$  | navis RT, RSt, R $\beta$ , *Riese*: *om.*  $\beta$ M $\pi$ , RE 18 catervis  $\beta$  $\pi$ : catervis piscium  $\beta$ <sup>II</sup> 20 Puella vero  $\pi$  | inflammata prudentia solutionum  $\beta$ : sermonum prudenti inflammata solutione  $\pi$  21 Per totas edes  $\beta$ : Per totos ignes  $\pi$  | Post aedes lacunam statui | intro per ignes  $\beta$ : intro  $\pi$ , innoxius introiit ignis M (= Symph., *Aen.* 89,1 (*sed* introiit v.l.)), *Riese* 22 circumdata flammis ( $\beta$ : pluribus *add.*  $\pi$ ) ... vallata nec ( $\beta$ : non tamen  $\pi$ ) uror  $\beta$  $\pi$  | Est calor in medio magnus, quem nemo veretur M (= Symph., *Aen.* 90,2), *cf.* 42, RA 40 (*app. crit.*) 23 est et *Riese*, *Klebs* 179-181: *om.*  $\beta$ M $\pi$  | nudus ibi  $\beta$ : ibi nullus  $\pi$  24 innocens  $\beta$ , *Klebs* 181: innocuos  $\pi$ , innocentes *Riese*, innoxius *Schmeling* (1988) | in ignes  $\beta$ : ignes  $\pi$  25 in balneum *codd.*: in *del.* *Schmeling* (1994) 397 | tubulos *Riese*: turbulos  $\beta$ <sup>I</sup> (*ex*: -as)  $\pi$  26 Nuda domus  $\beta$ : n.d. est  $\pi$  | nudus M, RE: domus  $\beta$  $\pi$  | sudabit  $\beta$ : sudat  $\pi$ , *Riese*, *Klebs* 67, *alii*

## RA 42

35 Item ait ad eum puella:

“Mucro mihi geminus ferro coniungitur uno.

Cum vento lucto<r>, cum gurgite pugno profundo.

Scrutor aquas medias, imas quoque mordeo terras”.

Respondit ei Apollonius: “Quae te sedentem in hac nave continet,  
40 ancora est, quae mucrone gemino ferro con<iun>gitur uno; quae cum  
vento luctatur et cum gurgite profundo; quae aquas medias scrutatur,  
imas quoque morsu tenens terras”. Item ait ad eum puella:

“Ipsa gravis non sum, sed lympa mihi pondus inhaeret.

Viscera tota tument, patulis diffusa cavernis.

45 Intus lympa latet, sed non se sponte profundit”.

Respondit ei Apollonius: “Spongia, cum sit levis, aqua gravata tumet  
patulis diffusa cavernis, quae se non sponte profundit”.

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**36-38** Symph., *Aen.* 61 Ancora **43-45** Symph., *Aen.* 63 Spongia.

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**36** coniungitur Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα: contingitur Rα(φF), cf. 40 | uno Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα: unco Rα(φF)  
**37** cum<sup>1</sup> Va<sup>c</sup>Rα: con P, *item* cum<sup>2</sup> | luctor Rα, *edd.*, cf. 41: lucto Va<sup>c</sup>P | imas quoque P,  
Rα(φF): quique imas Rα **40** *Post* ancora est *duo versus de balneo* (Symph., *Aen.* 90,  
2-3) *exhibent* Va<sup>c</sup> (*in margine*), P (*in textu*): Est calor in medio (Va<sup>c</sup>, meio P) magnus /  
quem nemo videt (P: vydetur Va<sup>c</sup>). Nuda domus, set nudus convenit hospes Va<sup>c</sup>P,  
*secl. Ring, Riese* | coniungitur *Ring, Riese*: contingitur Va<sup>c</sup>P, Rα(φF) **41** luctatur Va<sup>c</sup>P,  
Rα **42** puella Va<sup>c</sup>P **43** *Set secl. Ring, Riese metri causa* | lympa Va<sup>c</sup>P: -ae *Ring, Riese*:  
aqua Rα(LGAtr) | inheret Va<sup>c</sup> (*sc. pondus lymphā*): inherent P **45** profundit Va<sup>c</sup>P,  
Rα(LGAtr) **46** tumet P (*sc. aquā gravatā*): viscera tota tument Va<sup>c</sup> **47** profundit Va<sup>c</sup>,  
Rα(LG): profunderit P, *corr. Riese*.

## RB 42

Et ait iterum Tharsia:

“Ipsa gravis non sum, sed aquae mihi pondus adhaesit.

Viscera tota tument patulis diffusa cavernis.

Intus lymphā latet, quae se non sponte profundit”.

30

Apollonius ait: “Spongia licet sit levis, visceribus tota tumet aqua gravata patulis diffusa cavernis, infra quas lymphā latet, quae se non sponte profu<n>dit”.

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**27** *Post aenigma de balneo* π *continuat* (Symph., *Aen.* 61), cf. RA 36-42: Et ait Tharsia: ‘Mucro mihi geminus ferro contingitur uno. Cum ventis luctor, cum gurgite pugno profundo. Scrutor aquas medias atque imas mordeo terras.’ (Respondit Apollonius *add.* π<sup>1</sup>): ‘Mucro geminus, qui ferro contingitur uno, anchora est, quae (*i.q.* quae) te in hac navi sedentem, tenet; quae cum vento luctatur <et cum *add.* Tsitsikli> gurgite. medias (*corr.* Tsitsikli: medio π) scrutatur aquas atque imas morsu tenet terras π | Et ait iterum Tharsia β: Item puella π **29** tota β<sup>II</sup> (*p. corr.*), π, *Riese*: *om.* β **30** profundit M, *Riese*: profudit β, cf. 33; refundit π **31** Spongia ... **43**, RB 5 Apollonius ait: *om.* π | tota β: totis *Riese* **32** infra(*i.g.* intra) βM: intra *Riese* **33** profundit *Riese*: profudit β.

## RA 43

43. Item ait ad eum puella:

“Non sum compta comis et non sum compta capillis:  
intus enim mihi crines sunt, quas non vidit ullus.

Meque manibus mittunt manibusque remittor in auras”.

- 5 Apollonius ait: “Hanc ego Pentapoli naufragus habui ducem, ut regi amicus efficerer. Nam sphaera est, quae non est vincta comis et non est nudata capillis, quia intus plena est; haec manibus missa manibusque remittitur”. Item ait ad eum puella:

“Nulla mihi certa est, nulla est peregrina figura.

- 10 Fulgor inest intus radianti luce coruscus,  
qui nihil ostendit, nisi <si> quid viderit ante”.

Respondens Apollonius ait: “Nulla certa <figura> est speculo, quia mutatur aspectu; nulla peregrina figura, quia hoc ostendit, quod contra se habet”. Item ait puella ad eum:

- 15 “Quatuor aequales currunt ex arte sorores  
sic, quasi certantes, cum sit labor omnibus unus,  
et, prope cum sint pariter, non se pertingere possunt”.

Et ait ad eam Apollonius: “Quatuor similes sorores forma et habitu rotae sunt, quae ex arte currunt quasi certantes; et, cum sint sibi  
20 prope, nulla nullam potest contingere”.

RA 43 is continued on page 222

A (ab 2 Non usque ad traditus (46, RA 21)), Va<sup>c</sup>P

2-4 Symph., Aen. 59 Pila 9-11 Symph., Aen. 69 Speculum 10, cf. Ven. Fort., Carm. 8,3,141 radianti luce coruscus 15-17 Symph., Aen. 77 Rotae

1-8 In re nimis incerta lectionem codicum servavi. 2 compta<sup>1</sup> AVa<sup>c</sup>P, sed cf. vincta Rα et infra 6 | compta<sup>2</sup> AVa<sup>c</sup>P (dubitat Riese 1893): nuda Riese (1871), Ring, cf. nudata Rα et infra 7 | Viri docti dissentiunt: compta ... † compta Riese, vincta ... nuda Schmeling (1988), compta ... cincta Hunt (1983) 338 3 mihi crines AP, Rα(φF): crines mihi Rα(LGAttr) | quas A: quos P, Rα, edd. | vidit AP, Rα(φ) (i.q. videt?): videt Rα, edd. 4 Meque manibus AP (non metrica), cf. 7: Meque manus Rα, Ring (metrica): Me manibus Riese, Tsitsikli 5 Pentapoli A, Riese: Pentapolim P, in Pentapoli Ring 6 spera AP, Rα (i.q. sphaera) | vincta A: om. P 7 manibusque AP, Rα(φL), Ring, Riese: manibus Rα(GAttr) 9 certa est AP, Rα(LGAttr): certa Rα(φF) | nulla est AVa<sup>c</sup>: nulla P, Rα(LGAttr) 10 chorcus A: chorus P 11 nisi <si> quid add. Teuffel (1872) 105, Riese: nisi quid AP, Ring (per haplografiam): nisi quod Va<sup>c</sup>, viderit ante AP, se viderit ante Va<sup>c</sup> 12 figura Rα, Ring, Riese: om. AP 15 arte AVa<sup>c</sup>: arce P 17 et prope cum sint pariter AVa<sup>c</sup>P, sed cf. 19: cum prope sint pariter Ring, Riese | pertingere AVa<sup>c</sup>P, sed cf. 20 contingere 18 ait ad eam A: ait P | forma P: -ae A, Rα 19 sibi A, Rα: om. P 20 nulla nullam AVa<sup>c</sup>P: nulla aliam Rα | potest contingere AVa<sup>c</sup>, Rα(φF): contingere potest P, tangit Rα(LG)

## RB 43

43. Et ait iterum Tharsia:

“Non sum cincta comis et non sum compta capillis:

Intus enim crines mihi sunt, quos non videt ullus.

Meque manus mittunt manibusque remittor in auras”.

Apollonius ait: “Hanc ego in Pentapolim habui ducem, ut fierem regi 5  
amicus. Nam sphaera non est cincta comis, sed intus plena capillis;  
manibus missa manibusque remittitur”. Et ait iterum Tharsia:

“Nulla mihi certa est, nulla peregrina figura.

Fulgor inest intus, radiata luce coruscans,

qui nihil ostendit, nisi in se quod viderit ante”.

10

Apollonius ait: “Nulla certa figura speculo inest, quia mentitur aspec-  
tu; nulla peregrina figura, quia, quod contra se habuerit, ostendit”.

RB 43 is continued on page 223

### $\beta(M)\pi$

2 compta  $\beta$ , *delere vult Riese* 3 videt  $\beta$  (ex: vid-) 4 remitor  $\beta$ , *item* 7 5 in Pentapolim  $\beta\pi$ :  
in Pentapoli *Riese* 6 spera  $\beta\pi$  | non  $\beta^1$ : est  $\beta(a. corr.)$ ,  $\pi$  | vincta  $\pi$  7 manibusque  $\beta M$ :  
manuque  $\pi$ , manibus quoque *coni. Riese, sed cf. 43, RA* 7 | remittitur  $\beta$ : remissa  $\pi$   
8 nulla peregrina  $\beta$ : nulla est peregrina  $\beta^{II}$ , *Riese*; peregrina (que *add. \pi^1*) nulla  $\pi$   
9 radiata ( $\beta$ : radiante M) luce coruscans  $\beta M$ : *om. \pi, del. Riese. Post coruscans legitur*  
*divini sideris (sy- \pi) instar \beta\pi, RT, Riese: secl. Klebs 183, utpote petitum ex Symph. Aen.*  
*67,2 (lanterna)* 10 in se quod viderit ante  $\beta$  (in se quod *interpolatum putat Riese*): quod  
se ostenderit ante  $\pi$  11-12 mentitur aspectu  $\beta\pi$  12 quia  $\beta$ : *om. \pi* | quod  $\beta^1\pi$ : *om. \beta*

## RA 43

20 Item ait ad eum puella:

“Nos sumus ad caelum, quae scandit, alta petentes,  
concordi fabrica, quas unus conserit ordo.

Quicumque alta petunt, per nos comitantur ad auras”.

Et ait ad eam: “Per deum te ob<tes>tor, ne ulterius me ad laetandum  
25 provoces, ne videar<r> insultare mortuis meis. Nam gradus scalae alta  
petentes, aequales mansionem manentes, uno ordine conseruntur; et alta  
quicumque petunt, per eos comitantur ad auras”.

---

**21-23** Symph., *Aen.* 78.

**21** sumus AVa<sup>c</sup>: simul P | scandit AP (*sc.* scala): tendimus Va<sup>c</sup> (*sc.* gradus), scandimus Ring, Riese (scala et gradus in aenigmate permutantur) **22** quas AP: interpretandumne quos (*sc.* gradus)? **23** Quicumque alta AP, Ring, Riese: Alta quicumque Rα, cf. 26-27 **24** Et ait ad eam AP, Ring: ait ad eam Apollonius Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα, Riese | te AVa<sup>c</sup>: om. P | obtestor Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα: obstentor AP **25** videar Va<sup>c</sup>, Rα: videas AP | scala P **26** mansionem AP: mansiones Va<sup>c</sup> **27** per eos *codd.* (*sc.* gradus): per eas Schmeling (1988) (*item in RB*).

## RB 43

Et ait iterum Tharsia:

“Nos sumus, ad caelum qui tendimus alta petentes.

Omnibus aequalis mansio, omnes unus conserit ordo.

15

Alta quicumque petunt, per nos comitantur ad auras”.

Apollonius ait: “Grandes ad au<ra>s scalae gradus sunt; uno conserti ordine aequali mansione manent; alta qu<i>cumque petunt, per eos comitantur ad auras”.

---

**13** Et ait iterum Tharsia β: Tharsia ait π **14** qui tendimus βMπ, *recte* (sc. gradus): quae scandimus *Schmeling* (1988), cf. 17-18 **15** omnibus βπ: *delere vult Riese* (*metri causa*) | mansio β: domus π | omnes β: quos M, *om.* π **16** nos β: hos π, vos π<sup>1</sup>, ut simul herentes per nos M (= *Symph., Aen.* 78,3) | (au)ras-**44** RB,4 desideras: π<sup>1</sup> *in ras*, cf. cd. m., n.385 **17** auras M, π<sup>1</sup> (Ad auras gr.): aules β, *scribendumne* aulas T, RE (= ad caelum)? | uno conserti β: conserti uno π, uno consertae *Schmeling* (1988) **18** et equali π | quicumque Mπ: quęcumque β | eos βM (sc. gradus): hos π, eas *Schmeling* (1994) 397.



## RA 44

44. Et his dictis ait: “Ecce habes alios centum aureos, et recede a me, ut memoriam mortuorum meorum defleam”. At vero puella dolens tantae prudentiae virum mori velle – nefarium est – refund<it> aureos in sinum et adprehendens lugubrem vestem eius ad lucem conabatur trahere. At ille impellens eam con<r>uere fecit. Quae cum cecidisset, de naribus eius sanguis coepit egredi, et sedens puella coepit flere et cum magno maerore dicere: “O ardua potestas caelorum, quae me pateris innocentem tantis calamitatibus ab ipsis cunabulis fatigari! Nam statim ut nata sum in mari inter fluctus et procellas, parturiens me mater mea secundis ad stomachum redeuntibus coagulato sanguine mortua est et sepultura ei terrae denegata est. Quae tamen ornata a patre meo regalibus ornamentis et deposita in loculum cum viginti sestertius auri Neptuno est tradita. Me namque in cunabulis posita, Stranguillioni impio et Dionysiadi eius coniugi a patre meo sum tradita cum ornamentis et vestibus regalibus, pro quibus usque ad necis veni perfidiam et iussa sum puniri a servo uno infamiae, nomine Theophil-  
l-<o>. At ille dum voluisset me occidere, eum deprecata sum, ut me permetteret testari dominum. Quem cum deprecor, piratae superveniunt, qui me vi auferunt et ad istam deferunt provinciam. Atque lenoni impio sum vendita”.

AVa<sup>c</sup>P

3 nefarium est: *locus communis*, at cf. Heliod. 2,29,5 5 impellens, cf. Heliod. 7,7,6; Recognitiones Ps. Clement. 7,21,1–23,2 (ed. B. Rehm, Berlin 1965, p.206-7) 5-6 cf. Charit. 1,4,12 | conuere ... cecidisset, cf. Charit. 1,8,3 6 de naribus, cf. Achill. Tat. 8,1,3.

2 At Va<sup>c</sup>P, edd.: Ad (i.q. At) A, cf. 17 et 45, RA 6 3 nefarium est: *secl. Riese, alii alia* 3 refund<it> *corr. Hunt (1989) 406, (1994) 307; refundens AVa<sup>c</sup>: refunde P* 4 ad lucem Rα, edd.: et ad lucem A 5 impellens A, Rα: impendens P | conuere Rα: consuere A, consurgere et cadere P 7 ardua AP, Va: id est alta vel grande (*sic*) Va<sup>c</sup> 8 calamitatibus A: clamantibus P | ab ipsis [me] cunabulis A, *secl. Ring, Riese* | Nam Nam P 9 in mare Va<sup>c</sup> 11 mortua A (*a. ras.*), P, Rα: orta A | ei terre (terre ei Va<sup>c</sup>) denegata est AVa<sup>c</sup>: ei denegata est terre P | est<sup>2</sup> *del. Tsitsikli* 12 depositam A (i.q. deposita): -ta P, Rα(φF) | cum viginti sextertius (*ex: -tiis*) A, *retinui* (cum + *acc.*): cum XXVI tertiis P 14 Dionysiadi: Diunisiadi A, Dionasidi P 15 vestibus P, *Ring, Riese: vestis (i.q. -es) AVa<sup>c</sup>* 16 infamiē A, *retinui*, cf. 46, RA 8: infami E. Baehrens (1871) 858, *Riese; om. P, Ring* | uno infami *secl. Klebs, 261; Schmeling (1988) iniuria* 16-17 Theophilo edd.: Theofilum A (i.q. -o?), Theofilo P 17 Ad A, cf. *app. crit. ad 2* 18 deprecor AP: deprecarer Va<sup>c</sup> | pyrates A, cf. 32, RA 1 (*app. crit.*); 18-19 superveniunt A: supervenerunt P 19 vi P, edd.: vim A (*forma obdurata, i.q. vi*).

## RB 44

44. Et his dictis misit caput super Apollonium et strictis manibus complexa dixit: “Quid te tantis malis affligis? Exaudi vocem meam et deprecantem respice virginem, quia tantae prudentiae virum mori v<ell>e nefarium est. Si coniugem desideras, deus restituet; si filiam, salvam et incolumem invenies. Et praesta petenti, quod te precibus 5  
rogo”. Et tenens lugubrem eius manum ad lumen conabatur adtrahere. Tunc Apollonius in iracundia versus surrexit et calce eam percussit, et impulsa virgo cecidit. Et de genu eius coepit sanguis effluere, et sedens puella coepit flere et dicere: “O ardua potestas caelorum, quae me pateris innocentem tantis calamitatibus ab ipsis nativitatibus meae exortibus 10  
fatigari! Nam statim ut nata sum in mari inter flu<ctus> et procellas, mater mea secundis ad stomachum redeuntibus mortua est, et sepultur<a> terrae negata. Ornata a patre meo demissa est in loculum cum XX sestertiis. Neptuno est tradita. Post haec ego Stranguillioni et Dionysiadi inpiis a patre tradita cum ornamentis et vestibus usque ad 15  
necem veni, perfidia huius iussa puniri a servo eius. Piratis supervenientibus rapta sum et in hanc urbem lenoni distracta. Deus, redde Tyrio Apollonio patri meo, qui, ut matrem meam lugeret, Stranguillioni et Dionysiadi inpiis me dereliquit!.

 $\beta(M)\pi$ 

2-3 Cf. Vulg., Ps. 129,2 Domine, exaudi vocem meam, fiant aures tuae intendentes ad vocem deprecationis 5 Cf. Vulg., Tob. 8,15 repperitque eos incolumes (salvos A; salvos et incolomes SΦc).

1 Et his  $\beta M\pi$ : His ergo  $\pi$  1-2 complexa eum ait  $\pi$  2 Quid *codd.*: Vt quid RT, *Riese*, *Hunt* (1980) 34 3 virginem  $\beta$ : puellam  $\pi$  4 velle M, *Riese*: valde  $\beta\pi$  | si coniugem  $\beta^1 M\pi$ : sicut iugem  $\beta(a. corr.)$ , Va 5 te  $\beta$ : *om.*  $\pi$  7 iracundia  $\beta$ : -iam  $\pi$  8 genu  $\beta M$ : naribus  $\pi$ , *Hunt* (1994) 310, *Schmeling* (1994) 397 | sanguis effluere  $\beta$ : effluere sanguis  $\pi$  9 ardua  $\beta$ : *om.*  $\pi$  10 innocentem  $\beta$ : *om.*  $\pi$  10-11 exortibus  $\beta(a. corr.)$ , M, *Riese*: exordiis  $\beta^1 \pi$  11 fatigari  $\beta$ : -re  $\pi$  11-12 fluctus et procellas RT,S,RBern, *Riese*: fluentes procellas *codd.*, RE 13 sepultura RE (*add.* ei *Riese*): sepulturae *codd.* | terra (ex -e)  $\pi$  | demissa *scripsi*: demissaque  $\pi$ , dimissa  $\beta M$  14 Neptuno *codd.*: et Neptuno *Riese* | ego  $\beta(ex ergo)$ : ergo  $\pi$  15 Dionysiadi  $\beta^1 \pi$ : -de  $\beta(a. corr.)$ , M, *item* 19 16 iussa M $\pi$ : missa  $\beta$  17 hanc urbem  $\beta$ , *Riese*: hac urbe M $\pi$  | lenoni  $\pi$ : -e  $\beta$  | distracta M $\pi$ , cf. 45, RB 15: -tricta  $\beta$ , addicta *Riese*, *Schmeling* (1994) 398 | redde  $\beta\pi$ , *Riese*: redde me M, *Tsitsikli*.

## RA 45

45. Cumque haec et his similia puella flens diceret, in amplexu illius ruens Apollonius coepit fle<re> prae gaudio et dicere: “Tu es filia mea Tharsia, tu es spes mea unica, tu es lumen oculorum meorum †consci-  
us, †quem flens per quatuordecim annis <cum matre> tua lugeo. Iam  
5 laetus moriar, quia rediviva spes mihi est reddita”.  
Et dixit Apollonius: “Pereat haec civitas”. At ubi auditum est ab Athenagora principe, in publico, in foro, in curia clamare coepit et dicere: “Currite, cives et nobiles, ne pereat ista civitas”.

AVa<sup>c</sup>P

2 Cf. Vulg., *Tob.* 11,11 coeperunt flere prae gaudio 3 cf. *ibid.* 10,4 fili mi ... lumen oculorum nostrorum 4-5 cf. Vulg., *Gen.* 46,30 iam laetus (*om.* LXX) moriar, quia vidi faciem tuam.

1 amplexu A, *Riese*: -us P, *Ring* 2 flere *Hunt* (1989) 405-9, (1994) 307: flens AP | gaudio *scripsi*: godio (*ex*: ga-) A (*i.q.* gaudio): gaudio P | et AP: ei *Ring*, *Riese* 3 unica AVa<sup>c</sup>, *Riese*: *om.* P, *Ring* 3-4 conscius AVa<sup>c</sup>P, *del. multi*, *Riese*, *Klebs* (270: falso concius AP), *Hunt* (1994) 318; conscius *Ring*, alii alia (*cf. ed. m.*: *Schmeling* [1988]); *fort. vitium in translatione latet*) 4 quem AP (lumen, quem *defendi potest*): que Va<sup>c</sup> (*cf. Schmeling* 1988: consciusque): quam *Ring*, *Riese* | annis AVa<sup>c</sup>, *retinui*: aññ (*i.q.* annos) P, *edd.* | cum matre tua *Ring*, *Riese*: mater tua AVa<sup>c</sup> (*i.q.* matrem tuam?), matrem tuam P, *recte?* (*cf.* 48, RA 39) 5 rediviva A (*i.q.* -va): rediviva Va<sup>c</sup>, residua P | redita Va<sup>c</sup>. *Post reddita lacunam statuit Riese, sed cf.* Introd. VI.1(3) 6 At ubi *Riese*, *edd.*: Adubi A, *quod defendi potest* 7 in publico foro P | in furia P. 8 *Post* civitas *desinit* A: *lacuna epitomae adscribenda est, cf.* 5.

## RB 45

45. Apollonius haec signa audiens exclamavit cum lacrimis voce magna: "Currite famuli, currite amici et anxianti patri finem inponite". Qui audientes clamorem cucurrerunt omnes. Currit et Athenagoras, civitatis illius princeps, et invenit Apollonium super collum Tharsiae flentem et dicentem: "Haec est filia mea Tharsia, quam lugeo, cuius causa redivivas lacrimas et renovatum luctum assumpseram. Nam ego sum Apollonius Tyrius, qui te commendavi Stranguillioni. Dic mihi: quae dicta est nutrix tua?" Et illa dixit: "Lycoris". Apollonius adhuc vehementius clamare coepit: "Tu es filia mea!" Et illa dixit: "Si Tharsiam quaeris, ego sum!" Tunc erigens se et proiectis vestibis lugubribus induit vestes mundissimas, et adprehensam eam osculabatur et flebat. Videns eos Athenagoras utrosque in amplexu cum lacrimis inhaerentes, et ipse amarissime flebat et narrabat, qualiter sibi olim hoc ordine puella in lupanari posita universa narrasset, et quantum temporis erat, quod a piratis adducta et distracta fuisset. Et mittens se Athenagoras ad pedes Apollonii dixit: "Per deum vivum te adiuro, qui te patrem restituit filiae, ne alio viro Tharsiam tradas! Nam ego sum princeps huius civitatis et mea ope permansit virgo". Apollonius ait: "Ego huic tantae bonitati et pietati possum esse contrarius? Immo opto, quia votum feci non depositurum me luctum,

RB 45 is continued on page 229

### β(M)π

4 Cf. Vulg., Tob. 7,6 et plorans super (supra Φc) collum eius 13 Cf. Vulg., Matth. 26,75 et egressus foras ploravit (SAC: flevit cett.) amare 16-17 Cf. Vulg., Matth. 26,63 adiuro te per Deum vivum.

2 Currite ... servi *transpos.* Riese post 26, sed cf. Klebs 31 3 clamorem β: sermonem π | omnes *codd.* RB 5, T, Riese | omnes servi βMπ, RE (*locus communis*) | Currit βπ: Cucurrit Riese 4 super β, Riese: supra Mπ (*sic*) 5 filia mea Tharsia β: filia mea π 7 Tyrius Apollonius π, Riese 8 Lycoris Riese: Ligoridis β: -cor- π 10 dixit β: dixit 'Non, sed Licoridis'. Appollonius adhuc vehementius clamare cepit: 'Tu es filia mea.' Et illa dixit π, *mira confusione* 10-11 proiectis ... mundissimas *del.* Klebs 44, cf. 46, RB 10 11 vestibis β: *om.* π | lugubribus β<sup>1</sup>π: -bris β(*a. corr.*), M 14 qualiter β: quomodo π, Schmeling (1994) 399 | in π: *om.* β | in lupanari posita hoc ordine puella π 15 adducta βπ: *abd-* Riese | distracta *codd.*: addicta Schmeling (1988) 16 deum (*ex dominum*) β 17 alio Mπ: alii β (*ex alio*), Riese | mea ope βM: meo opere π 20 votum (*ex notum*) β

## RA 45

*In RA there is nothing corresponding to RB: RB is here no more than an elaboration of RA.*

## RB 45

nisi filiam meam nuptam tradidero. Hoc vero restat, ut filia mea vindicetur de hoc lenone, quem sustinuit inimicum". His auditis Athenagoras dicto citius ad curiam mittit et convocatis omnibus maioribus civitatis clamavit voce magna dicens; "Currite, cives piissimi, subvenite civitati, ne pereat propter unum infame!"

25

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**21** filiam meam nuptam (M, nuptum RE) tradidero. Hoc vero restat ut M, *Riese*: om. βπ  
**23** citius *scripsi*: cicius Mπ, cuius β (*a. corr.*), huius β<sup>1</sup> | mittit βMπ (*sc. nuntium, cf. 21, RA 18/RB 15*): cucurrit *Vëlserus*, δ, *recte*? **24** maioribus civitatis π, *Riese*: maiorum nativitatis β, maioribus natu civitatis *Klebs 80, 271 n.3, ego olim (1984)* **25** propter βπ: per M | infamem RE, *Riese*: infantem β, infandum (*ex -tum*) M, infanticidam π | *Post infamem Riese habet 2-3 Currite ... omnes [servi]: vide app. crit. ad 2.*

## RA 46

46. Concursus magnus et ingens factus est, et tanta commotio fuit populi, ut nullus omnino domi remaneret, neque vir neque femina. Omnibus autem convenientibus dixit Athenagoras: “Cives Mytilenae civitatis, sciatis Tyrium Apollonium huc venisse – et ecce, classes  
 5 navium properant cum multis armatis- eversurus istam provinciam causa lenonis infaustissimi, qui Tharsiam ipsius emit filiam et in prostibulo posuit. Vt ergo salvetur ista civitas, mittatur, et vindicet se de uno infamiae, ut non omnes periclitemur”. His auditis populi ab auriculis eum comprehenderunt. Ducitur leno ad forum vinctis a tergo  
 10 manibus. Fit tribunal ingens in foro, et induentes Apollonium regalem vestem deposita omni squalore luctus, quod habuit, atque detonso capite diadema inponunt ei, et cum filia sua Tharsia tribunal ascendit. Et tenens eam in amplexu coram omni populo <lacrimis impediabatur loqui. Athenagoras autem> vix manu impetrat a plebe, ut taceant.  
 15 Quibus silentibus ait Athenagoras: “Cives Mytilenae, quos repentina pietas in unum congregavit: videte Tharsiam a patre suo esse cognitam, quam leno cupidissimus ad nos expoliandos usque in hodiernum diem depressit; quae vestra pietate virgo permansit. Vt ergo plenius vestrae felicitati gratias referam, eius procurate vindictam”. At vero  
 20 omnes una voce clamaverunt dicentes: “Leno vivus ardeat et bona omnia eius puellae addicantur!” Atque his dictis leno igni est traditus.

RA 46 is continued on page 232

A (desinit post 21 traditus) P

1-2 Cf. Vulg., Act. 21,30 commotaque est civitas tota et facta est concursio populi; ceteroquin τόπος in eroticis graecis 14 vix manu impetrat ... ut taceant: rursum τόπος.

2 omnino A: om. P | neque vir A: vir P 3 conientibus P | Mytilenae Riese: mutilene AP, Mytilenaeae Schmeling (1988) tacite 5 properant A, Ring, Riese: om. P | eversurus AP, Rα(φF), retinui: eversuris Riese, Tsitsikli, alii alia, cf. Schmeling (1988) 6 lenonis infaustissimi P, Ring, Riese: lenoni (ex -nis) infaustissimo A | qui A: quia P | eius filiam emit P 6-7 posuit in prostibulo P 8 infamie A, retinui, cf. 44, RA 16: infameP, -i edd. | periclitent P 8-9 ab auriculis A, Rα(φF,L): om. P 9 Ducitur ergo P | a tergo A, Rα(L): om. P 11 veste A | squalore A: dolore P | luctus P, edd.: luctuosum A, inde luctuoso Bonnet (1890) 394, ego (1984) | quod habuit AP, Ring, Riese: del. Klebs, 256, Schmeling (1988) 12 dyadema P: diademate A | inponunt ei et P, Riese: inposuit A 13-14 lacrimis ... autem Rα(φF,L), Ring: om. AP 14 manum A | impetrat a plebe coni. Riese: impetrat ad plebem AP, Ring, Riese, alii alia (confusio e verbis 'impetro ab aliquo' et 'impero ad aliquem') 16 a P, Ring, Riese: co A (forma merovingica pro cum [i.q. a]) 19 felicitati P, Ring, Riese: -tis A | referam A, Ring: -at P, Riese | Ad (i.q. At) A 20 clamaverunt dicentes A: clamare ceperunt P 21 his: om. P

## RB 46

46. At ubi dictum est Athenagoram principem hac voce in foro clamasse, concursus ingens factus est, et tanta commotio populi venit, ut domi nec vir nec femina remaneret. Omnibus autem concurrentibus magna voce dixit: “Cives My<til>eni, scitis Tyrium Apollonium regem magnum huc venisse et classes navium: exercitu proximate eversurus 5 est civitatem lenonis causa, qui Tharsiam filiam suam constituit in lupanar. Vt ergo salvetur civitas, deducatur ad eum leno et vindicet se de eo et non tota civitas pereat”. His auditis comprehensus est leno et vinctus a tergo manibus ad forum ab auriculis ducitur. Fit tribunal ingens, et indutus Apollonius regia veste omni squalore deposita atque 10 tonsus capite diademate inposito cum filia sua tribunal ascendit. Et tenens eam in amplexu coram populo loqui lacrimis impediabatur. Athenagoras vix manu imperat plebi, ut tacerent. Quibus silentibus ait: “Cives My<til>eni, quos pristina fides tenet et nunc repentina causa coagulavit in unum: videtis Tharsiam a patre suo hodie cognitam, 15 quam cupidissimus leno ad nos expoliandos usque hodie depressit; quae nostra pietate virgo permansit. Vt ergo pietati vestrae plenius gratias referat, natae eius procurate vindictam”. Omnes una voce dixerunt: “Leno vivus ardeat et bona eius puellae addicantur!” Addicitur ignibus leno. 20

RB 46 is continued on page 233

### β(M)π

13 Cf. Vulg., Act. 12,17 annuens autem eis manu (manum F), ut tacerent.

2 ingens: om. β | populi venit *codd.*: fuit populi *Riese* 3 femina β: mulier π 4 (dixit) Athenagoras *add. Riese* | Mytileni *scripsi*: Militeni βπ, Militem M, cf. 14 *infra*; Mytilenae *Riese*, Mytilenes *Schmeling* (1988) | scitis β: sciatis π, *Riese*, *recte?* 5 et classes βM: cum classe π | exercitu proximate β: et exercitu. Proximoque π, *Tsitsikli* 6-7 in lupanari π 8 et non *codd.*: ut non RE 9 vinctus *codd.*, *Tsitsikli*: vinctis β<sup>II</sup>, *Riese* | ab auriculariis Mπ 10 (squalore, *fem.*) deposita β: -to Mπ, *Riese* 11 capiti π | diadema β 12 populo π 13 tacerent *codd.*: taceant *Riese* 14 Militeni βMπ, cf. *supra* 4 | tenet fides π 16 vos π 17 nostra βπ: vestra M, *Riese*, *alii* 19 addicantur π, *Riese*, *Schmeling* (1994) 399: addicentur M, adducantur β



## RA 46

Villicus vero eius cum universis puellis et facultatibus Tharsiae virgini traditur. Cui ait Tharsia: “Redonavi tibi vitam, quia beneficio <tu  
 25 *virgo permansi*”. Cui donavit pro hoc beneficio> ducenta talenta auri et libertatem. Deinde cunctis puellis coram se praesentatis dixit: “Qui<cq>uid de corpore vestro illi infausto contulistis, ut habeatis vobis, illud redonavi, et quia mecum verumtamen servistis, ex hoc iam mecum liberae estote”.

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**23-24** tuo virgo permansi Rα(φF,L). Cui donavit pro hoc beneficio Rα(L), cf. Hunt (1983) 40: om. P (propter homoioteleuton), lacunam statuit Riese **26** Quicquid Rα(φF,L): Quia id P **27** vobis P (man. post.): vob P | redonavi P: redono Schmeling (1988) | verumtamen P, dubitanter retinui; servitutem coni. Riese, del. Hunt (1981<sup>a</sup>) 344, Schmeling (1988) **28** mecum del. Klebs 230 n.1.

## RB 46

Villicus eius cum universis puellis et facultatibus Tharsiae traditur. Ait 20  
 Tharsia villico: “Dono tibi vitam, quia beneficio tuo virgo permansi”. Et  
 donavit ei X talenta et libertatem. Deinde cunctis puellis coram se prae-  
 sentatis ait: “Quicquid de corpore vestro illi contulistis infausto, vobis  
 habete; quia servistis mecum, liberae estote”.

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**21-22** beneficio tuo et civium Va, S, RE **23** vestro β: *om.* π **24** quia β: et quia π, *Riese* |  
*Ante liberae add. mecum Ziehen (apud Riese), Riese, non infacete.*

## RA 47

47. Erigens ergo se <Ty>rius Apollonius his dictis populo alloquitur:  
 “Gratias pietati vestrae refero, venerandi et piissimi cives, quorum  
 longa fides pietatem praebuit et quietem tribuit et <educavit> salutem et  
 exhibuit gloriam. Vestrum est, quod fraudulenta mors <cum> suo luctu  
 5 detecta est; vestrum est, quod virginitas nulla bella sustinuit; vestrum  
 est, quod paternis amplexibus unica restituta est filia. Pro hoc tanto  
 munere condono huic civitati vestrae ad restauranda omnia moenia  
 auri talenta C ”. Et haec dicens eis in praesenti dari iussit. At vero  
 cives accipientes aurum fuderunt ei statuam <ingentem, in prora  
 10 navis> stantem et calcantem <caput lenonis>, filiam suam in dextro  
 brachio tenentem, et in ea scripserunt:

TYRIO APOLLONIO REST<ITV>TORI AED<IUM IN FORO  
 ET THARSIAE PVDI<CI>SSIME VIRGINITATEM SERVANTI  
 15 ET CASVM VILISSIMVM INCVRRENTI  
 VNIVERSVS POPVLVS  
 OB NIMIVM AMOREM AETERNVM DECVS MEMORIAE DEDIT.

Quid multa? Inter paucos dies tradidit filiam suam Athenagorae prin-  
 20 cipi cum ingenti honore ac civitatis laetitia.

## P

1 ergo se P, Rα(L), *Ring, Riese, alii* | se ergo Rα(φ), *Hunt (1984) 352* | Tyrius Rα, *Ring, Riese*: securius P (*per dittographiam*), *quod tuetur Schmeling (1988)* | populo P, *Riese* 3 *educavit add. Riese: om. P, approbante Ring* 4 *cum add. Riese: om. P, Ring* 5 *substinuit P* 7 *omnia del. Ring* 8 *eis P, Riese: ea Ring* 9-10 <ingentem, in prora navis> *add. Tsitsikli, cf. 47, RB 9: om. P, Ring; lacunam statuit Riese* 10 *calcantem <caput lenonis> sic scripsi ex RB: caput lenonis calcantem Ring, Riese: calcantem P* 12 *restitutori aedium in foro Klebs 198-199: restitutori moenium nostrorum Riese, Schmeling (1988), cf. supra 7: restituendorum dierum in foro P, cf. ed. m.* 13 *pudicissime Bonnet (apud Riese), Riese: pudissime P* 17 *Inter P, Rα, Ring: Intra Riese.*

## RB 47

47. Et erigens se Tyrius Apollonius alloquitur populum dicens:  
 “Gratias pietati vestrae refero, venerandi et piissimi cives. Longa fides  
 pietatem praebuit, quietem tribuit, salutem exhibuit, gloriam educavit.  
 Vestrum est, quod redivivis vulneribus rediviva vita successit; vestrum  
 est, quod fraudulenta mors cum suo luctu de<det>ecta est; vestrum est, 5  
 uod virginitas nulla bella sustinuit; vestrum est, quod paternis am-  
 plexibus unica restituta est filia. Pro hoc tanto beneficio vestro ad  
 restituenda civitatis vestrae moenia aurum pondo L dono”. Quod cum  
 in praesenti fecisset, fuderunt ei statuam ingentem, in prora navis  
 stantem et calcantem caput lenonis, et filiam in dextro brachio 10  
 sedentem, et in base scripserunt:

APOLLONIO RESTAVRATORI AEDIIUM NOSTRARVM  
 ET THARSIAE, SANCTISSIMAE VIRGINI, FILIAE EIUS  
 VNIVERSVS POPVLVS MY<TIL>ENAE  
 OB NIMIVM AMOREM AETERNVM DECVS MEMORIAE DEDIT.

15

Et intra paucos dies tradidit filiam suam in coniugio Athenagorae cum  
 ingenti laetitia totius civitatis.

 $\beta(M)\pi$ 

1 populo M 2 cives *codd.*: cives, quorum *Riese* 4 redivivis  $\pi^1$ : -vus  $\beta$ , redivis  $\pi$  | suc-  
 cedit  $\pi$  5 detecta *Riese*: deicta *codd.* 7 tanto  $\beta$ : *om.*  $\pi$  8 aurum  $\beta$ , *Riese*: auri  $\pi$   
 9 fecisset *codd.*, *Klebs* 241 n.7: dare fecisset *Riese* 11 sedentem *codd.*, RE: tenentem  
*Riese*, *Schmeling* (1988) 12 <Tyrio> Apollonio *Riese*, *Klebs* 198 n.3 15 Mytilenae  
 (sc. civitatis) *scripsi*: Militenę  $\beta$ ; Militene urbis  $\pi$ , Mytilenes *Schmeling* (1988), cf. 46,  
 RB 4 16 eterne  $\pi$  17 in coniugio  $\beta$ : coniugio  $\pi$ .

## RA 48

48. Et exinde cum suis omnibus et cum genero atque filia navigavit, volens, per Tharsum proficiscens, redire ad patriam suam. Vidit in somnis quendam angelico habitu sibi dicentem: “Apolloni, dic gubernatori tuo, ad Ephesum iter dirigat; ubi dum veneris, ingredere templum Dianae cum filia et genero, et omnes casus tuos, quos a iuvenili aetate es passus, expone per ordinem. Post haec veniens Tharsos vindica innocentem filiam tuam”. Expergefactus Apollonius excitat filiam et generum et indicat somnium. At illi dixerunt: “Fac, domine, quod iubet”. Ille vero iubet gubernatorem suum Ephesum petere. Perveniunt felici cursu. Descendens Apollonius cum suis templum Dianae petit, in quo templo coniunx eius inter sacerdotes principatum tenebat. Erat enim effigie satis decora et omni castitatis amore assueta, <u>t nulla tam grata esset Dianae, nisi ipsa. Intervenienti Apollonius in templum Dianae cum suis, rogat sibi aperiri sacrarium, ut in conspectu Dianae omnes casus suos exponeret. Nuntiatur hoc illi maiori omnium sacerdotum venisse nescio quem regem cum genero et filia cum magnis donis, <haec> et <t>alia volentem in conspectu Dianae recitare. At illa audiens regem advenisse induit se regium habitum, ornavit caput gemmis et in veste purpurea venit, stipata catervis fam<u>larum. Templum ingreditur. Quam videns Apollonius cum filia

RA 48 is continued on page 238

Va<sup>c</sup>P

19-20 stipata catervis famularum, cf. Verg., *Aen.* 1,496; 4,136

2 proficiscens P: proficiscendo *Schmeling* (1994) 386 12 effigie Rα(φF,L), *edd.*: effigies eius P | omni *edd.*: omnium P 13 ut Rα(F), *edd.*: et P, Rα(φ) | Intervenienti P: Interea veniens Va 17 hec et talia Rα(φ) *dubitanter scripsi*: et alia P, et talia *Ring*, talia *Riese* (annotans: i.e. casus suos), *Tsitsikli*, et aliqua *Hunt* (1983) 341 (= *Schmeling* [1988]); fort. vitium altius latet 20 famularum Rα(φF,L), *edd.*: familiarum P

## RB 48

48. Et cum eo et cum filia volens per Tharsum transeundo redire in patriam suam, vidit in somnis quendam angelico vultu sibi dicentem: “Apolloni, ad Ephesum dirige et intra templum Dianae cum filia et genero tuo: casus tuos omnes expone. Postea Tharso filiam tuam vindica innocentem”. Apollonius expergefactus indicat genero et filiae 5  
somnia, et illi dixerunt: “Fac, domine, quod tibi videtur”. Et iussit gubernatori Ephesum petere. Felici cursu perveniunt Ephesum, et descendens cum suis Ephesum templum petit Dianae, ubi coniunx eius inter sacerdotes principatum tenebat. Et rogat sibi aperire sacrarium. Dicitur illi matri omnium sacerdotum venisse regem nescio quem cum 10  
filia et genero suo cum nimis donis. Hoc audito gemmis regalibus caput ornavit; in vestitu purpureo venit, virginum constipata catervis. Erat enim effigie decora, et ob nimium castitatis amorem asserebant omnes nullam esse tam gratam Dianae. Quam videns Apollonius cum

RB 48 is continued on page 239

$\beta(M)\pi$

2 Cf. Vulg., *Iud.* 13,6 vir Dei ... habens vultum angelicum

1 volens (*del.*  $\pi^1$ ) per Tharsum volens  $\pi$  2 quendam angelico vultu *codd.*: angelum T, angelum a deo missum RT 4 3 iter ad Ephesum  $\pi$  4 genero  $\beta\pi$ : -e  $\beta^u M$  | casus *codd.*: ibi casus *Riese* 7 Ephesum<sup>2</sup> *codd.*: *del. Riese, Tsitsikli, alii* 8 descendantibus  $\pi$  9 rogabat  $\pi$  | aperiri  $\pi$  10 matri *codd.*: maiori *Schmeling* (1988), iniuria 12 in  $\beta$ : et in  $\pi$  13 nimiam  $\beta^u$  | asserebant  $\pi$ , *Riese*: efferebant  $\beta$

## RA 48

sua et genero corruerunt ante pedes eius. Tantus enim splendor pulchritu<dinis> eius emanabat, ut ipsam esse putarent deam Dianam. Interea aperto sacrario oblatisque muneribus coepit in conspectu Dianae haec effari atque cum fletu magno dicere: “Ego cum ab  
 25 adulescentia mea rex nomin<e> appellarer et ad omnem scientiam pervenissem, quae a nobilibus et regibus exercetur, regis iniqui Antiochi quaestionem exsolvi, ut filiam eius in matrimonio acciperem. Sed ille, foedissima sorde sociatus ei, cuius pater a natura fuerat constitutus, per impietatem coniunx effectus est atque me machina-  
 30 batur occidere. Quem dum fugio, naufragus factus sum et eo usque a Cyrenensi rege Archistrate susceptus sum, ut filiam suam meruissem accipere. Quae mecum ad regnum percipiendum venire desiderans, hanc filiam parvulam -quam coram te, magna Diana, praesentari in somnis angelo admonente iussisti -, postquam in navi eam peperit,  
 35 emisit spiritum. Indui eam honestum, regium dignumque habitum sepulturae e<t> i<n> loculum deposui cum xx sestertiis auri, ut, ubi inventa fuisset, ipsa sibi testis esset, ut digne sepeliretur. Hanc vero meam filiam commendavi iniquissimis hominib<us> St<r>anguillioni et Dionysiae, et duxi me in Aegypto, per annos XIII uxorem flens  
 40 fortiter, et postea venio, ut filiam meam reciperem. Dixerunt mihi, quod esset mortua. Iterum cum redviv<o> involverer luctu, post matris atque filiae mortem cupienti exitum vitam mihi red<di>disti”.

**21-22** splendor pulchritudinis emanabat: *elocutio metaphorica desumpta a Plat., Phaedr.* 251<sup>B</sup>, *admodum dilecta in fabulis graecis eroticis, cf. Charit. Καλλιρρόη* (“*Lady Lovely Stream*”), Xen. Eph. 1,3,2; Achill. Tat. 1,9,4; 5,13,4. *Vide Introd. VI.3.*

**21** corruerunt P, Rα(φ,L) **22** pulchritudinis Rα(φ,F,L): pulcrituni P **24** ab (adulescentia) P, Rα, *cf. a puero*: in Va, *Schmeling* (1988) **25** rex nomine appellarer *olim conieci*: rex nominis appellarer P, *inde alii alia* **26** exercetur Rα(φ,F,L) *Riese*: exerceatur P, *Ring, Schmeling* (1994) 387 **28** sorde P, Va, *edd.*: sorte Rα (φ,F,L), *Riese* | cuius *codd.*: *fort. scribendum* cui **30** factus P: effectus Va<sup>c</sup> **31** Quirenense (*i.q.* Cyrenensi) P **33** *Post parvulam Riese add. enixa est (cf. 25, RA 10), post iussisti interpunx.* **33-34** – quam <...> iussisti – *sic distinxi*: (parvulam), quam <...> iussisti – *distinx.* *Schmeling* (1988), *Hunt* (1994) 313 **34** angelo admonente *Klebs secl. 189, 225* | eam P; iam *Ring; del. Tsitsikli, Merkelbach* **36** et in Rα(F): ei P | XXVI tertiis P, Rα(L) **38** hominib<us> St<r>anguillioni: *suppl. Ring ex hōi ///* ra P, *cf. ed. m., p.34* **39** diunisie P | duxi me P, Rα(φ,F,L) **40** venio P, *Riese*: veni *Ring* **41** redvivo Rα(φ,F,L), *Riese*: redivi ut P, *Ring* **42** cupienti exitum Rα(φ), *cf. 38, RA 18 cupio efflare spiritum: capienti P, Schmeling* (1988) | reddidisti *Ring, Riese*: reddisti P, *quod defendi potest.*

## RB 48

filia et genero <orruu>nt ad pedes eius. Tantus enim pulchritudinis 15  
 eius emanabat splendor; ut ipsa dea esse videretur. Et aperto sacrario  
 oblatisque muneribus coepit dicere: “Ego ab adolescentia mea rex,  
 natus Tyro, Apollonius appellatus, cum ad omnem scientiam pervenis-  
 sem, nec ess<e>t a<r>s aliqua, quae a nobilibus et regibus <exercere>tur,  
 <quam ego nescirem>, regis Antiochi quaestionem exsolvi, ut filiam 20  
 eius in matrimonio caperem. Sed ille ei foedissima sorte sociatus, cui  
 pater natura fuerat constitutus, per impietatem coniunx effectus est et  
 me machinabatur occidere. Quem dum fugio, naufragus a Cyrenensi  
 rege Archistrate eo usque gratissime susceptus sum, ut filiam eius  
 mererer accipere. Qu<ae>, cum desiderassem properare ad patrium 25  
 regnum, hanc filiam meam – quam coram te, magna Diana, prae-  
 sentare iussisti – postea in nave <pe>perit et emisit spiritum. Quam ego  
 regio indui habitu, et in loculum cum XX sestertiis d<e>misi in mare,  
 ut inventa digne sepeliretur. Hanc vero famulam tuam, filiam meam,  
 nutriendam iniquis hominibus commendavi, et in Aegypti partibus luxi 30  
 XIII annis uxorem. Vnde adveniens, ut filiam meam repeterem,  
 dixerunt esse defunctam. Et dum redivivo luctu involverer, mori  
 cupienti filiam meam reddidisti”.

15 corruunt RE, *Klebs* 461, *coni.* *Riese*: corruit M, currunt β(*ex* -uunt), π, *Riese*  
 18 appellatus, cum M: appellatus (β: sum appellatus π). Et cum βπ, tum cum *Riese*  
 19-20 nec esset ars aliqua, quae <...> exerceretur, quam ego nescirem γ (=RC), *Riese*,  
*Klebs* 88 n.1, *Schmeling* (1988): necessitas aliqua, quae <...> agebatur, me attigit βMπ;  
*alii alia coniciunt, cf. ed. m.* 21 caperem βπ: acciperem *Riese* | foedissima: infelicissima  
 π | cui βM: cuius π 22 pater β: *om.* π 23 naufragus π, *Riese*: -giis β | Cirenensi βπ:  
 Cinerensi M 23 rege π: -i β 25 Quae *Riese*: Quam (*ex* Que) β, Qui Mπ | cum desi-  
 derassem βM: dum desiderarem π | patrium βπ: proprium M 26 [et] hanc filiam  
 meam β, *secl.* *Riese*, *cf.* RE: et ad hanc famulam M, et ad hanc familiam meam π | te  
 βπ: *om.* M 26-27 presentare β: -i Mπ 27 postea β<sup>II</sup>M: post ea β, *om.* π | in nave pepe-  
 rit M, RE: in nave periit β, uxor mea in mari periit π 28 cum XX sestercis Mπ,  
*Riese*: sestercia β | demisi *scripsi*: di- *codd.* 29 vero β: ergo π 30 commendavi: tra-  
 didi π | in π: *om.* β 30-31 ·XIII· annis luxi π 32 involverer β, *Riese*: lugubris invol-  
 verer Mπ | reddidisti π.



## RA 49

49. Cumque haec et his similia Apollonius narrans diceret, mittit vocem magnam clamans uxor eius dicens: “Ego sum coniunx tua, Arch<i>stratis regis filia!” et mittens se in amplexus eius coepit dicere: “Tu es Tyrius Apollonius meus; tu es magister, qui docta manu me docuisti; tu es, qui <me> a patre meo Arch<i>strate accepisti; tu es, quem adamavi non libidinis causa, sed sapientiae ducem! Ubi est filia mea?” Et ostendit ei Tharsiam et dixit ei : “Ecce, <haec> est!” Sonat in tot<a> Ephes<o> Tyrium Apollonium recognovisse suam coniugem, quam ipsi sacerdotem habebant. Et facta est laetitia omni civitati maxima, coronantur plateae, organa disponuntur, fit a civibus convivium, laetantur omnes pariter. Et constituit loco suo ipsa sacerdotem, quae ei secunda erat et cara. Et cum omni<um> Ephesiorum gaudio et lacrimis, cum planctu amarissimo eo, quod eos relinquerent, vale dicentes cum marito et filia et genero navem ascendit.

Va<sup>c</sup>P

11-12 Cf. *Vita S. Melaniae* (SC. 90). c. 41 (p.206); *videas* Introd. V. 2

2 Post coniunx tua *add.* Lucina Va<sup>c</sup>P, *secl.* Ring, *Riese*, *Klebs* 42, *cf.* 25, RA 9  
 3 Archistratis (*verisimilius* gen.) *Riese*, Arcestratis P, *inde* Archistratis (*nom.*), Archistratis (*gen.*) regis filia Ring, *cf.* Peters (1904) 170: *fort. scribendum* coniunx tua Archistratis, regis filia 4 docta manu me Rα, Ring, *Riese*, *Klebs* 38: doctam manum meam P, *inde* [docta manu] me Tsitsikli (1981), Schmeling (1988), docta mente *coni.* *Riese* 5 me *edd.*: *om.* P | Archistrate : Arcestrate P 7 haec est *Riese*: est P, Rα(φF,L), *fort. recte* 8 tota Rα, *edd.*: toto P | Ephesu P (*i.q.* Epheso, *edd.*) 11 ipsa *edd.*: ipā P, *insolita scriptura, verisimilius pro ipsa, cf.* Cappelli, 1961<sup>6</sup>, 185 12 omnium Rα(φ), *edd.*: omni P, Rα(F) 13 relinquerent P: -ret *edd.* 13-14 vale dicentes P, Ring: valedicens Rα(φF,L), *cf.* vale dicens *Riese*.

## RB 49

49. Cumque haec et his similia narrat, levavit se Archistrat<i>s uxor ipsius et rapuit eum in amplexu. Apollonius coniugem suam repellit a se. At illa cum lacrimis voce magna clamavit dicens: “Ego sum coniunx tua Archistrat<i>s, regis Archistratis filia!”, et mittens se iterum in amplexu eius coepit dicere: “Tu es Tyrius Apollonius, meus Apollonius; tu es magister meus, qui me docuisti; tu es, qui me a patre accepisti Archistrate; <tu es>, quem naufragum adamavi non causa libidinis, sed sapientiae ducta! Vbi est filia mea?” Et ostendit ei Tharsiam dicens: “Haec est!” Et flebant invicem omnes. Sonuit Ephesum Tyrium Apollonium regem uxorem suam Archistratem cognovisse, quam ipsi sacerdotem habebant. Fit laetitia ingens, coronatur civitas, organa disponuntur, fit Apollonio convivium a civibus, laetantur omnes. Ipsa vero constituit sacerdotem, quae sequens ei erat et casta caraque. Et cum Ephesiorum gaudio et lacrimis cum marito, filia et genero navem ascendit.

5

10

15

## β(M)π

2 rapuit in amplexu ... repellit a se, cf. Heliod. 7,7,6; Ps. Clemens, *Homil.* XII 22,3 (p.185,7 Rehm) 11-12 Cf. AASS *vita S. Agnetis* XI Ian. p.353,16 coronatur civitas tota, fit laetitia.

1 hec π: om. β | Archistratis (nom.) scripsi, cf. supra n.54: Archistrates β,M (-itra-); Archistratis <...> Riese, lacunam supplens regis filia; Cleopatras π (item 3 et 10) 2 ipsius βM: eius π | Apollonius βM, Riese: Apollonius nesciens esse π, ego (olim), Schmeling (1988) | coniugem suam βπ: om. M | repellit βπ: rēpult M | eam β (a. ras.), Mπ, ego (olim), Schmeling (1988) 3 sum βM: sum Cleopatras π<sup>2</sup> 4 Archistrat<i>s scripsi: Archistrates (-itra- M) βM, om. π | regis βM: om. π | Archistratis π<sup>2</sup>: Archistrate β, Architrati M 5-6 meus Appollonius β: vir meus π 6-7 a patre accepisti β: accepisti a patre π 7 <tu es> add. Riese 8 ducta βπ: luce M | ostendit ei M, Riese: ostendit βπ 10 Ephesum β: per Ephesum π, Ephesi M, Epheso Riese | Archistratem (-tr- M) βM, cf. supra n.54: del. Schmeling (1988), (1994) 390; Cleopatram π 14 caraque βM: claraque π | Ephesiorum Mπ<sup>1</sup>: Ephesorum βπ.

## RA 50

50. <...> Et constituit in loco suo regem Athenagoram generum suum, et cum eodem et filia et cum exercitu navigans Tharsum civitatem venit. Apollonius statim iubet comprehendere Stra<n>guilionem et Dionysiam, et sedens pro tribunali in foro adduci sibi illos p<rae>cepit.
- 5 Quibus adductis coram omnibus Apollonius ait: “Cives beatissimi Tharsi, <numquid> Tyrius Apollonius alicui vestrum in aliqua re ingratus extitit?” At illi una voce clamaverunt dicentes: “Te regem, te patrem patriae et diximus et in perpetuum dicimus; <pro> te mori optavimus et optamus, cuius ope famis periculum vel mortem transcendimus. Hoc et statua tua a nobis posita <in biga> testatur”.
- 10 Apollonius ait ad eos: “Commendavi filiam meam Stranguillioni et Dionysiae suae uxori; hanc mihi reddere nolunt”. Stranguillio ait :”Per regni tui clementiam, quia fati munus implevit”. Apollonius ait: “Videte, cives Tharsi, non sufficit, quantum ad suam malig<ni>tatem,
- 15 <quod> homicidium perpetratum fecerunt: insuper et per regni mei vires putaverunt periura<n>dum. Ecce, ostendam vobis ex hoc, quod visuri estis, et testimoniis vobis a<d>probabo”. Et proferens <filiam> Apollonius coram omnibus populis ait: “Ecce, adest filia mea Tharsia!” Mulier mala, ut vidit eam, scelestas Dionysias, imo corpore
- 20 contremuit.

RA 50 is continued on page 244

## P

7-8 te patrem patriae, cf. Introd. VI.4.2.2 (‘Coin from Tarsus’)

1 Vt Klebsius (222 n.1) statuit, nonnulla in P exciderunt, fortasse iam in R(Gr), cf. Introd. V.1. Desideratur mentio Antiochiae, cf. Veniens igitur Tyrius Antiochiam invenit sibi reservatum regnum (cf. 24, RA 14/RB 11). Constituit Rα 2 filia P, Ring: filia et coniuge Rα, Riese, Schmeling (1988), sane elegantius, at vide 50, RB 3 4 precepit Rα: pcepit P 6 Tharsi: Tharsis (Ταρσεῖς) conī. Tsitsikli | numquid Rα, Ring, Riese: inquit P, Schmeling (1994) 149 8 pro Rα: om. P 10 et Rα, Riese: est P | in biga Rα, Ring, Riese, cf. 10 RA 15/RB 12: unica P 12 Dionysiae scripsi: Diunigie P, Dionysiadi Ring, Riese | Stranquillio P (forma italica) 13 faci P, i.q. fati edd. 14 malignitatem edd., cf. malignitate Rα; maligntatem P 15 quod homicidium Rα, Riese: et homicidio quod P, alii alia 16 periurandum Va, edd.: periurare dum P | hostendam P (i.q. ostendam) 17 vobis adprobabo Rα(φ), Klebs 41 n.3: vobis ex hoc (per dittographiam) añ (i.q. ante) probabo P, alii aliter | filiam add. edd. ex Rα(cf. ed. m.): om. P, recte? 19 scelestas Diunigia P, ut glossema edd. del.: imo P, Ring, E. Löfstedt (1933) 345 n.2 (i.q. toto)

## RB 50

50. Veniens igitur Tyrius Apollonius Antiochiam, ubi regnum reservatum suscepit, pergit inde Týrum et constituit regem loco suo Athenagoram generum suum. Et cum eo et cum filia sua et cum exercitu regio navigans venit Tharsum. Et iussit statim comprehendi Stranguillionem et Dionysiadem uxorem suam et sedenti sibi adduci. Quibus 5 adductis coram omnibus civibus dixit: “Cives beatissimi Tharsiae, nunquid Apollonio Tyrio exstitit aliquis ingratus vestrum?” At illi omnes una voce dixerunt: “Te regem, te patriae patrem diximus: propter te et mori libenter optavimus, cuius ope periculum famis effugimus. Pro hoc et statua a nobis posita in biga testatur”. Et 10 Apollonius ait: “Commendavi filiam meam Stranguillioni et Dionysiadi uxori eius: hanc mihi reddere noluerunt”. Scelerata mulier ait: “Bone domine, quid? Tu ipse titulum legisti monumenti!” Apollonius exclamavit: “Domina Tharsia, nata dulcis, si quid tamen apud inferos 15 haeres, relinque Thartaream domum et genitoris tui vocem exaudi”. Puella deponit tribunal regio habitu circumdata capite velato processit et revelata facie malae mulieri dixit: “Dionysiadis, saluto te ego ab inferis revocata”. Mulier scelerata ut vidit, toto corpore contremuit.

RB 50 is continued on page 245

## β(M)π

2 loco suo regem π 3 cum filia sua *codd.*, RE: cum filia sua et coniuge sua γ, *Riese, Schmeling* (1988), *sed cf.* RA 2 5 suam β: eius π 6 Tharsiae (*sc.* civitatis): Tharsii M, Tharsis (Ταρσεῖς) *Tsitsikli*, Tarsi *Schmeling* (1988) 7 Appollonius Tyrius π | aliquis β: alicui π | vestrum ingratus π 8 patrem β: principem π 9 optamus π | opere π 10 Pro β: *om.* π | statua tibi π | Et β: *om.* π 11 Dionysiadi βπ: -de M 12 ait β: dixit π | Bone βπ: Bene M 13 quid? β: quod M, memento quod π 13-14 exclamavit dicens π 14 nata β<sup>2</sup>Mπ: grata β | si quid tamen βπ, RE: quamvis M, si quid † tamen *Riese* 15 heres (*i.q.* haeres) β (*a. ras.*), Mπ, RE: habes β<sup>2</sup>, *Riese* (*sc.* sensum); *inde alii alia* | relinque βπ: tamen relinque M | Thartaream β<sup>2</sup>π: Thartater β, Tarchaream M 16 capite velato β, velato capite π: capite velata M 17 revelata Mπ, *edd.*: relevata β | mulieri maledixit M, valedixit mulieri π | Dionisiadis β: Dionisias π, *om.* M 18 vidit β, RE: vidit eam Mπ, *Riese*

## RA 50

- 20 Mirantur cives. Tharsia iubet in conspectu suo adduci  
 Theophilum villicum. Quique cum adductus fuisset, ait ad eum  
 Tharsia: “Theophil<e>, si debitis tormentis et sanguini tuo cupis esse  
 consultum et a me mereri indulgentiam, clara voce dicito, quis tibi  
 25 allocutus est, ut me interficeres?” Theophilus ait: “Domina mea  
 Dionysia”. Tunc omnes cives sub testificatione confessione facta et  
 addita vera ratione confusi rapientes Stranguillionem et Dionysiam  
 extra civitatem et lapidibus eos occiderunt et ad bestias terrae  
 et volucres caeli in campo iactaverunt, ut etiam corpora eorum terrae  
 sepulturae negarentur. Volentes autem Theophilum occidere, inter-  
 30 ventu Tharsiae non tangitur. Ait enim Tharsia: “Cives piissimi, nisi ad  
 testandum dominum horarum mihi spatia tribuisset, modo me vestra  
 felicitas non defendisset”. T<um> a praesenti Theophilo libertatem cum  
 praemio donavit.

---

21 Quique P, *edd.* (*i.q.* qui) 22 Theophilu P 25 Diunisia P 26 addita (*ex addata*) P 27-29 et ad bestias ... sepulturae negarentur: *iniuria interpolata credit Klebs 41-42, quem Schmeling (1988) ad loc. secutus est* 30 tangitur P, *Riese: tangunt Ring, Schmeling (1988), coniungentes volentes (nomin.)* | nisi <iste> *Schmeling (1994) 387* 32 Tum *edd.*: Ta (*i.q.* Tamen) P.

## RB 50

Mirantur cives et gaudent. Et iussit Tharsia Theophilum villicum  
venire. Cui ait: “Theophile, ut possit tibi ignosci, clara voce responde: 20  
quis me interficiendam tibi obligavit?” Villicus respondit: “Dionysia,  
domina mea”. Tunc cives omnes rapuerunt Stranguillionem et Dionysi-  
adem : extra civitatem lapidaverunt. Volentes et Theophilum occidere,  
Tharsiae interventu non tangitur. Et ait: “Nisi iste ad testandum deum  
horarum mihi spatium tribuisset, modo vestra pietas me non defendis- 25  
set”. Quem manumissum abire incolumem praecepit et sceleratae  
<filiam> secum Tharsia tulit.

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20 possim tibi ignoscere Mπ 21 interficiendam β, RE: -dum Mπ | obligavit *codd.*, RE: delegavit *Riese* 23 extra β, *Riese*: et extra Mπ, RE | lapidaverunt *codd.*, RE: et lap. *Riese* | Volentes (*nom./acc. abs.*) βMπ, 23-24 occidere, Tharsie interventu βπ: lapidare, Tharsia tamen interveniente M 24 tangitur *codd.*: tangunt *Schmeling* (1988), (1994) 152/400 | Et ait Tharsia π, γ, *Riese*, *Schmeling* (1988): dicente M 25 horarum βπ: trium horarum M(!) | vestra pietas me β, RE: me v.p. π 25-26 defendisset βπ: vindicasset M 26 Quem βπ: Que M (*i.q.* Quae) 27 filiam RE, γ, *E. Baehrens* (1871) 858, *Riese*: omnia π, promissum M, *om.* β.

## RA 51

51. Itaque Apollonius pro hac re laetitiam populo addens, munera restituens, restaurat universas termas, moenia publica, murorum turre. Restituens moratur ibi cum suis omnibus diebus XV. Postea vero valedicens civibus navigat ad Pentapolim Cyreneam: pervenit  
 5 feliciter. Ingreditur ad regem Arch<i>stratem, socerum suum. Et vidit filiam cum marito et Tharsiam neptem suam cum marito: regis filios venerabatur et osculo suscipit Apollonium et filiam suam, cum quibus iugiter integro uno anno laetatus est perdurans. Post haec perfecta aetate moritur in eorum manibus, dimittens medietatem regni sui  
 10 Apollonio et medietatem filiae suae. In illo tempore peractis omnibus iuxta mare deambulat Apollonius. Vidit piscatorem illum, a quo naufragus susceptus fuerat, qui ei medium suum dedit tribunarium, et iubet famulis suis, ut eum comprehenderent et ad suum ducerent palatium. Tunc, ut vidit se piscator  
 15 trahi ad palatium, se putavit ad occidendum praebere. Sed ubi ingressus est palatium, Tyrius Apollonius sedens cum sua coniuge, eum ad se praecepit adduci, et ait ad coniugem: “Domina regina et coniunx pudica, hic est paranymphus meus, qui mihi opem tribuit, et, ut ad <te> venirem, iter ostendit”. Et intuens eum Apollonius ait: “O benignissime vetule, ego sum Tyrius Apollonius, cui tu dedisti dimidium  
 20 tuum tribunarium”. Et donavit ei ducenta sestertia auri, servos et ancillas, vestes et argentum secundum cor suum, et fecit eum comitem, usque dum viveret.

RA 51 is continued on page 248

Va<sup>c</sup>P

**11-12** Cf. Matth. 4,18 Ambulans autem Iesus iuxta mare Galileae vidit duos fratres ... (erant enim piscatores) **22** secundum cor suum: *lingua Biblica*, cf. Introd. II.2.3

**1-3** *Textum cod. P dubitanter retinui* **1** letitiam populo addens P, Ring: ad laetitiam populo Riese (coniugens addens cum munera) **1-2** munera restituens P: menia restituens (pro restituens) Ring, munera publica restaurat Schmeling (1988) **2** universas termas, menia publica P, cf. comm.: universas thermas publicas Ring, universa. Thermas publicas, moenia Riese **3** turre. Restituens sic distinxi: turre restituens Ring, Riese | moratur Rα, edd.: morantur P (fort. ‘constructio ad sensum’) **6** regis P, edd.: reges coni. Riese **7** venerabatur Va<sup>c</sup>, edd.: venerabantur P | obsculum P (i.q. osculo edd.) **10** et medietatem filiae suae delenda coni. Riese, propter sequentia 29-30, iniuria **12-13** qui ... tribunarium P, Riese: secl. Ring **18-19** ad te venirem Rα(F), edd.: advenirem P

## RB 51

51. Apollonius vero dat licentiam populo; dedit munera; restaurantur  
 termæ, m<oe>nia, murorum turres. Moratus autem ibi VI mensibus  
 navigat cum suis ad Pentapolim, civitatem Cyrenem. Ingreditur ad  
 regem Archistratem. Coronatur civitas, ponuntur organa. Gaudet in  
 ultima senectute sua rex Archistrates; videt neptem cum matre, filiam 5  
 cum marito; regis nepotes, regis filios veneratur, et in osculo Apollonii  
 et filiae integro anno perdurat. Post haec laetus moritur perfecta  
 aetate in manibus eorum, medietatem regni sui Apollonio relinquens et  
 medietatem filiae suae.

His omnibus peractis dum deambulat Apollonius iuxta mare, vidit 10  
 piscatorem illum, a quo fuerat naufragus susceptus, et iussit eum  
 comprehendi. Vidit piscator se a militibus duci; occidendum se puta-  
 bat. Et ingressus Apollonius coram coniuge sua iussit eum adduci et  
 ait: “Domina coniunx, hic est paranympheus meus, qui olim mihi opem  
 naufrago dedit et, ut ad te pervenirem, ostendit itinera”. Dixit ei: 15  
 “Benignissime vetule, ego sum Tyrius Apollonius, cui dimidium  
 tribunarium tuum dedisti”. Et donavit ei CC sestertia, servos, ancillas  
 et vestes, et fecit eum comitem, usque dum vixit.

RB 51 is continued on page 249

β(M)π

7 Cf. Vulg., Gen. 46,30 iam laetus moriar (*videas* 45, RA 4-5)

1 licentiam βπ, RE: leticiam M, *Schmeling* (1988) | restaurantur *codd.*, RE: -rans  
*Schmeling* (1988) 2 termæ, menia RE: termenia β; turme, menia π; menia M | muro-  
 rum β: murorum et π | Moratur M | mensibus sex M 3 Cyrenem βπ: Cirenen M,  
 Cyrenaeam *Riese*, Cyrenen *Schmeling* (1988) 4 Coronatur ... organa *codd.*, RE: *secl.*  
*Riese*, *Schmeling* (1988), *utpote perperam repetita ex* 49, RB 12 5 videt π: vidit β, RE |  
 matre βMπ, RE: coniuge γ, *eleganter sane* 6 reges nepotes, regis filios *coni.* *Riese*  
 7 anno β: animo π 10 deambulat βM: deambulabat π 12 Videns π 14 para-  
 nimpbus β | olim β, *Riese: om.* Mπ 14-15 operimentum dedit naufrago M 15 iti-  
 nera βπ: iter M | dixitque π 16 Tyrius β<sup>u</sup>π: Thirus β 17 et servos π | et ancillas π  
 18 et vestes β: ac vestes M, *om.* π



## RA 51

25 Hellenicus autem, qui, quando persequabatur eum rex Antiochus,  
 indicaverat ei omnia et nihil ab eo recipere voluit, secutus est eum et  
 procedenti Apollonio obtulit se ei et dixit: "Domine rex, memor esto  
 Hellenici servi tui". At ille apprehendens manum eius erexit eum et  
 suscepit osculo; et fecit eum comitem et donavit illi multas divitias.  
 30 His rebus expletis genuit de coniuge sua filium, quem rex in loco avi  
 sui Arch*stratis* constituit. Ipse autem cum sua coniuge vixit annis  
 LXXIII. Regnavit et tenuit regnum Antiochiae et Tyri et Cyrenen-  
 sium; et quietam atque felicem vitam vixit cum co*n*iuge sua. Peractis  
 annis, quod superius diximus, in pace atque senectute bona defuncti  
 sunt.  
 35 Explicit liber Apollonii.

33 Cf. Vulg., Gen. 15,15 in pace, sepultus in senectute bona (*Abrahae praedictum*).

24 Hellenicus *Ring, Riese*: Ellevicus P, *item* (27) 26 procedenti P, *Ring, Riese*: -te Rα |  
 ei et P: et ei *Ring, Riese*: ei *del. Hunt* (1981) 218 27 Hellenici *Ring, Riese*: Ellevici P  
 28 osculum P (*i.q.* osculo): osculo Rα, *Ring, Riese* 29 rex P (*nom. in appositione*):  
 regem *edd.* 31 regnavit *secl. Riese* | Tyri Rα(F), *edd.*: Tyrii P 31-32 et Tyri et  
 Cyrenensium P: *del. Schmeling*; et Cyrenensium *secl. Riese, iniuria* 32 coiuge P (*i.q.*  
 coniuge): coniuge Rα, *edd.* 33 quod VaP, *i.q.* quot *Riese*: quos *Ring* | quod superius  
 diximus P *del. Schmeling* 33-34 in pace atque senectute bona defuncti sunt VaP, *def.*  
*Weymann, alii* (cf. *ed. m., nn.* 580 et 652). *Vide* Introd. III.6; VII.2.2.3: *interpolata, fort.*  
*partim, censent Riese, Klebs, alii* 36 Appollonii P.

## RB 51

<Helle>nicus vero, qui ei de Antiocho nuntiaverat, Apollonio procedenti obtulit se et ait: “Domine mi rex, memor esto <Helle>nici, servi tui”. 20  
Et adprehendens manum eius Apollonius erexit eum et osculari coepit; fecit divitem, ordinat comitem.

His expletis genuit de coniuge sua filium, quem in loco avi eius Archistrat<is> constituit regem. Ipse quoque cum coniuge sua benigne vixit annis septuaginta IIII. Tenuit regnum Antiochia, Tyri et Cyrenensium. 25  
Quietam vitam per omne tempus suum vixit. Casus suos suorumque ipse descripsit et duo volumina fecit: unum Dianae in templo Ephesiorum, aliud in bibliotheca sua exposuit.

Explicit.

30

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**27-28** Dianae in templo Ephesiorum, cf. Xen. Eph. 5,15,2; locus inde desumptus, cf. Introd. VII.2.2.3.

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**19-20** procedenti β (ex -e), *Riese*: -te Mπ **20** Domine mi rex *codd.*: Domine rex S, RE, *Riese*, *Schmeling* (1994) 400 **22** ordinat β, *Riese*: ordinavit π **23-24** Archistratis β<sup>II</sup>: Archstrate β **24** quoque *codd.*: autem γ, *Riese*, *Schmeling* (1988) | benigne β: om. π **25** Antiochia: Apollonie M **25-26** Tyri et Cyrenensium *del. Schmeling* (1988) **26** suum vixit β(?), *Riese*: sui vixit π (cf. regni sui vixit RE) **27** Diane in templo βM: in templo Diane π **28** in Mπ, *Riese*: om. β | exposuit βM: posuit π **29** Explicit β: Explicit historia Apollonii Tyrii M; Gesta Tyrii Appollonii finiVNT π.

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6,3,1	6, RA 1-2	3,7,1-2	18, RA 13-18
6,4,2	48, RA 19	3,12,6	32, RA 14-21
6,5,1	12, RA 23-24	3,17,1	18, RB 5
6,5,6	12, RA 23-24	3,17,2	28, RA 13-14
7,2,7	33, RA 16	3,18,2	18, RA 13-18
7,6,10	7, RA 9	4,5,2	18, RA 13-18
8,1,11	49, RA 7-8	4,6,6	1, RA 5
8,2,3	6, RA 3	4,7,3-4	18, RA 13-18
8,2,11	Introd. VIII.1.1;	4,10,3	2, RA 4
	11, RA 6	4,15,1	22, RA 23
8,3,4	38, RA 18	4,17,1	28, RA 13-14
8,3,8	12, RA 23-24	5,3,3	38, RA 16
8,5,12	38, RA 3	5,20,2	27, RA 20
8,6,7	48, RA 19	5,20,4	36, RA 8
8,7,1	46, RA 2	5,22,7	11, RB 17
8,8,13	50, RA 8	7,7,6	44, RA 5;
			49, RB 2
Chione, Fragn.		7,10,3	22, RA 6-7
(ed. Zimmermann,		8,9,11	31, RA 36;
1936, p.41)	51, RA 9-10		32, RA 42-43
		8,11,3	28, RA 13-14
Dio Chrys., Or.		10,1,1	6, RB 8-9
33,17-18	Introd. VIII.1.8	10,6,1	6, RB 8-9
33,39	Introd. VIII.1.5	10,9,3	28, RA 13-14
33,57	Introd. VIII.1.9		
34,1.7.37	Introd. VIII.1.9	Heliod. 1,22,4	Introd. VIII.1.1
34,16	Introd. VIII.1.6		
34,33	n.71	Herpyll., Fragn.	
34,45	n.72	(ed. Zimmermann,	
		1936, p.72.35)	Introd. VIII.1.1
Eurip.,			
<i>Hecuba</i> 785-790	37, RA 13	Homer., <i>Od.</i>	
789-790	28, RA 5	1,50	Introd. VIII.2;
<i>Or.</i> 1528	33, RB 3-4		8, RB 3
		4,710	4, RB 7
Heliod. (ed. Rattenbury – Lumb)		4,833	38, RB 19
1,7,2	6, RB 8-9	5,295-6	11, RA 12-13
1,9,1	1, RB 2		(app. crit.)
1,13,4	50, RA 26-27	5,305	6, RA 20
1,19,7	49, RA 6	5,316-318	11, RB 17
1,22,3	6, RA 19-20	5,343	Introd. VIII.1.1
2,4,2	50, RA 14-15	8,372-6	13, RA 11-18
2,17,2	6, RA 19-20	12,305	Introd. VIII.2
2,29,2	1, RA 4	12,407	11, RB 6
2,29,4	24, RA 13		
2,29,5	44, RA 3	Iamblich. (ed. Stephens)	
2,30,4	33, RA 10-11	74a 4	1, RB 2
2,31,4	1, RA 7	74b 42	26, RA 19
2,32,1	27, RA 20		
2,33,5	27, RA 20		
2,34,1	48, RA 16		

Ioseph.,		1,3,2	6, RA 20; 48,
<i>Ant. Iud.</i> ,			RA 21-22
8,143.146.148	41, RA 32-	1,5,1	20, RA 17-18
	42, RA 10	1,7,3	49, RA 10
<i>c. Ap.</i> , 1,17		1,9,1	1, RB 1
(111, 114-5),		1,10,4	6, RA 19-20
18 (120) <i>ibid.</i>		1,11,6	Introd. VIII.2;
			8, RA 9
Longus ( <i>ed. Loeb Classical Library</i> )		1,12,1	8, RB 10;
1,28,1-5	32, RA 1		49, RA 7-8
2,25,2	11, RB 17	1,12,4	48, RA 19
3,25	1, RA 5-6	1,14,4	Introd. VIII.1.1;
3,32,3	22, RA 1		6, RA 20
		2,4,4	31, RA 37
Lucian., <i>Toxaris</i> 30	12, RA 18-19	2,4,5	1, RA 9
		2,8,2	48, RA 2
Philostr.,		2,9,4	34, RA 5-6
<i>Vita Apoll.</i> 1,7	Introd. VIII.1.3	2,10,2	31, RA 37
		2,10,4	36, RA 8
Plato,		2,11,3	31, RA 14
<i>Phaedr.</i> 251 <sup>B</sup>	48, RA 21-22	2,11,6	31, RA 25
		2,11,10	12, RA 1
Plut.,		2,12,2	1, RA 7
<i>Vita Anton.</i> 26,3	n.75	2,13,3	32, RA 1
<i>Themist.</i> 29,3	8, RA 15-16	3,1,4	12, RA 13-14
		3,2,4	1, RA 9
Ps. Clement.,		3,2,14	6, RA 20
<i>Homil.</i> XII 22,3		3,3,6	31, RA 37
( <i>ed. Rehm</i> )	49, RB 2	3,4,1	26, RA 2
		3,5,4	31, RA 37
Strabo		3,6,3	6, RA 14
14,5,10	Introd. VIII.2	3,7,1-3	25, RA 10-16
14,5,11	n.75	3,7,4	25, RA 12
14,5,12	Introd. VIII.1.5		(app. crit.)
14,5,13	Introd. VIII.1.7	3,11,1	34, RA 1
		3,11,2	28, RA 8
Syn.,		3,11,4-5	27, RA 21;
<i>Epist.</i> 129	Introd. VIII.1.1		34, RA 5-6
		3,12,4	36, RA 8
Theophanes		3,12,6	32, RB 14-21
Confessor		5,1,1	36, RA 8
(PG 108) 99, 24	14, RA 2	5,1,2	1, RA 9;
			12, RA 5;
Xen. Eph.			27, RA 20
( <i>ed. Dalmeyda</i> )		5,1,10	6, RB 10-11
1,1,1	1, RA 2-3/RB 1.2;	5,5,5	33, RA 12
	48, RA 25-26	5,5,7	33, RB 2-3
1,1,2	1, RA 4-5	5,5,7-8	33, RA 2-3
1,2,2	48, RA 11	5,5,8	34, RA 1
1,2,6	48, RA 19	5,6,2	32, RA 20-21;
1,2,7	31, RA 4; 48,		38, RA 20
	RA 21	5,7,1	33, RA 14

5,7,3	33, RA 2-3	5,10,6-7	48, RA 23
5,7,4-9	34, RA 5-6	5,11,4	32, RA 42-43
5,8,5	48, RA 2	5,13,1	46, RA 1-2
5,9,4	33, RA 2-3	5,15,2	51, RB 27-28
5,10,3	30, RA 7-8		(σφραγίς)
5,10,5	6, RA 14;		['warrant']
	30, RA 7-8		

## NOMINA PROPRIA ET GEOGRAPHICA

The manuscripts show considerable differences in the way they represent proper names, *cf. ed. m.* In this index proper names are given in accordance with the norm of classical Latinity. Greek or apparently Greek forms are marked with an asterisk.

For the manner of citation, here as well as in the other indices, see Abbreviations.

- Aegyptus 28, RA/RB 18;  
48, RA 39/RB 30  
Aeolus (Eulus **AP**) 11, RA 9  
Africus 11, RA 20/RB 14  
Amiantus 33, RB 23; 35, RB 10  
Antiochia 1, RA 1.2/RB 2;  
4, RA 3/RB 4; 7, RA 11.13/RB 13;  
24, RB 11; 50, RB 1;  
51, RA 31/RB 25  
Antiochus 1, RA/RB 1;  
4, RA 1.4/RB 1; 6, RA 1/RB 14;  
7, RA 6/RB 11.16;  
8, RA 12/RB 6.18; 9, RA/RB 6;  
10, RA 5/RB 4; 12, RA 7/RB 8;  
24, RA 13.25/RB 10.19;  
48, RA 27/RB 20; 51, RA 24  
Apollo 16, RA 23/RB 21  
Apollonius 4, RA 2/RB 3 *passim*  
Archistrates rex 13, RA 9/RB 8;  
13, RA 13; 16, RA 20/RB 17;  
48, RA 31/RB 24;  
49, RA 3.5/RB 7;  
51, RA 5.30/RB 4.23  
Archistratis, filia regis Archistratis:  
*codd. maxime variant inter formas -es*  
*et -is, cf. app. crit. ad* 18, RB 1;  
25, RB 12; 29, RA 13/RB 11;  
49, RA 3/RB 1.4: Archistratem (*acc.*)  
49, RB 10  
*Ad lectionem Archistratis*  
*cf.* 15, RA/RB 1; n.54;  
Introd. VII.2.2.2  
Ardalio (-eo *u.l.*)  
1) 21, RA 4/RB 3;  
2) 39, RB 26 (π; -uli- β**M**)  
Athenagoras  
33, RA 5.8.9.10.11/RB 4.6.7.8.9;  
34, RA 2.15.16.18.24/  
RB 2.15.17.24; 35, RA/RB 1;  
36, RA 7/RB 10;  
39, RA 11.21.26.27.32/  
RB 13.19.21.25.27.31;  
40, RA 1.7.21.28/RB 1.6.8.17.24;  
41, RA 23.27/RB 22.26;  
45, RA 7/RB 3.12.16.23;  
46, RA 3.14.15/RB 1.13;  
47, RA 17/RB 16;  
50, RA 1/RB 2  
Auster 11, RA 12 (**Va**\***P**); 25, RA 9  
Bor(r)neas 11, RA 13.20/RB 14  
Breseida – Briseis 33, RB 23;  
Introd. VII.2.2.2  
Camilla, *cf.* 15, RA/RB 1  
Chaeremon 26, RB 2.20; 27, RB 1  
Chaldaei (*i.q.* astrologi) 6, RA 13  
Cleopatras 49, RB 4.10,  
*cf.* 15, RA/RB 1  
Cyrena 11, RB 12;  
Cyrene 12, RB 4; 29, RB 11 (βπ);  
51, RB 3  
Cyrenaeus (-neus *u.l.*) 11, RA 3;  
51, RA 4;  
Cyrenensis (Quirin- *u.l.*)  
48, RA 31/RB 23; 51, RA 31/RB 25  
Diana 27, RA 22/RB 19;  
48, RA (9x)/RB (4x); 51, RB 27  
Dii Manes 32, RA 54; 38, RA 9/RB 8  
Dionysias, -adis (*codd. variant*;  
Dionisia/-igia **P** *plerumque*)  
11, RA/RB 2; 28, RA/RB 3;  
29, RA 10.20/RB 8.19;  
31, RA 1.6.35; 32, RA 38.40.52;  
37, RA 3/RB 5.21;  
44, RA 14/RB 15; 48, RA 39;  
50, RA 5/RB (5 x)  
Dionysiada 31, RB 1.4 (*cf. app. crit.*;  
Introd. VII.2.2.2)  
Ephesus 48, RA 4.9/RB 3.7;  
49, RA 8/RB 10. Ephesi (*loc.*)  
49, RB 10 (**M**)  
Ephesius 26, RA/RB 1;  
49, RA 12/RB 14; 51, RB 28  
Eurys 11, RA 13  
Hellenicus (**A**); (H)ellevicus (**P**) ~  
Helanicus (**b**); Elanicus βπ)

- 8, RA 4 (8 x)/RB 12 (3 x);  
 51, RA 24.27/RB 19.20; *cf.* n.73  
 Lampsacenus 33, RA 18/RB 16  
 latinus 6, RB 12  
 Le(n)onin(i)us 33, RB 3 (βΜπ),  
*cf.* app. crit.; 40, RB 20 (βπ):  
*(formae depravatae, cf. s.n. Ninus)*  
 Lucina (dea partus) 25, RA 10/RB 7  
 Lucina (*nomen postea Archistrati*  
*inditum*) 29, RA 13; 49, RA 2 (P),  
*cf.* app. crit.  
 Lycoris (Ligoridis βπ) 25, RA 3/RB 2;  
 28, RA/RB 11; 29, RB 3; 32, RB 26;  
 45, RB 8  
 Manes 30, RA 8; 31, RA 29;  
 Dii Manes 32, RA 54 (= 38, RA 9)  
 Diis Manibus 38, RB 8  
 Musae 42, RA 12 (*in Symphosii aen.* 2)  
 Mytilene, -es (*nomen ubique in HA cor-*  
*ruptum; saepius mutilena AP; milite-*  
*na βπ, cf. ed. m.):* 33, RA/RB 1;  
 37, RA 1; 39, RA/RB 3;  
 46, RA 3.15/RB 4.14; 47, RB 14  
 Mytileni 46, RB 4.14 (*e coni.*)  
 civitas Mytilena 33, RB 1; 39,  
 RA/RB 3; 46, RA 3  
*forma elliptica, (cf. Tharsia, Tyria)*  
 Mytilena (A) 37, RA 1 (*abl. loc.*);  
 46, RA 15; 47, RB 14  
 Neptunalia: Neptunalia festa  
 39, RA 3/Neptunalia RB 5;  
*cf.* Introd. IV.2.1  
 Neptunus 11, RA 21/RB 15;  
 12, RA 5/RB 6; 44, RA 13/RB 14  
 Ninus 33, RB 3 (b)  
 Not(h)us 11, RA/RB 10  
 Palladius 13, RA/RB 7  
 Pentapolis, -is 11, RB 2;  
 43, RA/RB 5; 51, RA 5/RB 3  
 Pentapoli (*loc.*) 43, RA 5 (A)  
 Pentapolitae\* 12, RA 3;  
 Pentapolitanus 11, RA 2; 12, RB 3  
 Philomusia ~ Philotimias, -adis  
 28, RA 9  
 (filia)/RB 9; 31, RA 2, *cf.* Introd.  
 VII.2.2.2  
 Priapus aureus 33, RA 16/RB 14  
 Stranguillio (-ilio, -lius; Stranquilio [P])  
 32, RA 16; 50, RA 12) 9, RA/RB 2  
*passim*  
 T(h)arsus, -i (*forma aspirata Graecae*  
*potest esse originis, cf. Introd. VIII.1.9:*  
*cives Tharsi* 32, RA 55; 38, RA 10;  
 50, RA 6.14; Tharsum  
 8, RB 10 (b); 29, RB 8 (βΜπ);  
 48, RA 2/RB 1; 50, RA 2 Tharsum  
 civitatem, *cf. infra* Tharsia civitas  
 Tharso (*cl. Tharsi*) 15, RB 13  
 (βΜπ); 48, RB 4  
 Tharso (*cl. Tarsum*) veniens Tharso  
 8, RB 19 (β);  
 28, RB 2 (= 29, RB 18); 37, RB 2;  
*(indecl.)* 29, RB 8  
 T(h)arsis\* (*cl. Tarsenses*) 10, RA 3.9  
 (RB *corrigit*)  
 T(h)arsos\* (RB *ubique corrigit*)  
 28, RA 2; 29, RA 9; 48, RA 7  
 T(h)arsius: Tharsia civitas 8, RA 3;  
 10, RA 17/RB 15; 37, RA 2;  
*(forma elliptica, cf. Mitylena, Tyria)*  
 8, RB 10 (bβ); 10, RB 2.7; 50, RB 6;  
 11, RB 6 litus Tharsium  
 T(h)arsia (*puella*) *inde ab*  
 28, RA 10/RB 11 *saepissime, nomen*  
*servile*  
 Thaliarchus 6, RA/RB 2;  
 7, RA 6.12/RB 6  
 Thartareus 50, RB 15  
 Theophilus 31, RA 14.31/RB 10.20;  
 44, RA 16; 50, RA 21-32/RB 19-23  
 Tiron (acc.) 5, RB 7 (β)  
 Triton (Trinon *u.l.*) 11, RA 22/RB 16  
 Tyrus, -i (Tiron 8, RB 7 [β] *u.l.*)  
 5, RA 6; 24, RA 7/RB 6; 38, RA 20;  
 50, RB 2; 51, RA 31/RB 25  
 Tyro (*cl. Tyri*) 7, RA 5/RB 6;  
 48, RB 18 (*cl. Tyrum*) 5, RB 7;  
 6, RB 5; 39, RB 1, *cf.* app. crit.  
 Tyros (*nom.*) 29, RA 14 (P)  
 Tyrius: Tyrius Apollonius *inde ab*  
 4, RA/RB1 *saepissime; Apollonius*  
*Tyrius forma minus usata*  
 10, RA 17/RB 3.15; 22, RB 6,  
 50, RB 7  
 Tyria (*sc. urbs, forma elliptica, cf. Mity-*  
*lena, Tharsia)) tit., RA (A), RB (β)*

## INDEX VOCUM LOCUTIONUMQUE

Greek or apparently Greek words are marked with an asterisk, *e.g.*: *actio*\*, *ago* + *dat*\*.  
Readings in the two Recensions that differ considerably from each other are indicated with the sign ~, *e.g.*: *adeoque* (= *et insuper*) ~ *Et deo* 41, RA/RB 9.

- a/ab 1, RB 10; ab amore 18, RB 1;  
a natura 48, RA 21  
ab Antiochia 7, RA 11  
comprehendo ab\* 'seize by' 46, RA 8  
a praesenti tempore 'forthwith'  
22, RA 7, *cf. s.v.* praesens  
ab ~ ad 46, RA 14  
abeo post (*i.q.* ad) aliquid, *cf.* 31, RB 16  
abietus (*i.q.* vilis) 14, RA 12/RB 10  
absit, ut 8, RA 24/RB 29  
absolvo (= solvo) nodos parabolarum\*  
'I unravel the knots of riddles'  
41, RA 33/RB 31  
abstineo (*i.q.* abstineo me a coitu)  
34, RB 8 (b)  
abundantia *vid.* habundantia  
ac si 24, RB 9; 33, RA 14/RB 12;  
36, RA 8/RB 11-12;  
40, RA 19/RB 15; 41, RA/RB 20  
accedo (*de procis*) 3, RB 12  
accipio bene 39, RB 20-21; accipio  
(= sumo) commeatum 5, RB 6  
acquiesco (= oboedio) 14, RA 10/RB 8  
actio\* 16, RA 29/RB 25  
ad: 13, RA 10 ad ludum ludere,  
*cf.* 13, RA 14 ad pilae lusum;  
25, RA 29/RB 23 ad caput ~ super  
caput  
34, RA 20 dedit ad te (= tibi);  
35, RA 19 exponens ad omnes  
(= omnibus)  
ad + *infin.* 24, RA 18  
adamo (I) 49, RA 6/RB 7  
adclamatio\* 10, RA 10/RB 11;  
36, RA 5  
addico ~ adduco 46, RA 21/RB 19 (β)  
addo (I) laetitiam 51, RA 1  
adduco *t.t.* 50, RA 4-5/RB 5-6  
adeoque (= *et insuper*) ~  
*Et deo* 41, RA/RB 9  
adfero: adferit 35, RA 14 (A, Va)  
adhibeo 27, RA 3 aliquem mecum  
adinvicem/ad invicem 30, RA 3,  
*cf. invicem*  
adhuc + *comp.* 45, RB 9  
adiuro (I) 22, RA 14  
45, RB 17 per deum vivum  
adiurare se invicem ~ adiurari  
35, RA/RB 2  
adloquor + *dat.* 47, RA 1; 50, RA 24  
'talk a person into'  
admiro (I) 42, RA 9 (P)  
adopto (I) in filiam 27, RA 20/RB 18,  
*cf. s.v.* in  
adplico (appl-) (I) 28, RA/RB 1;  
32, RA/RB 5  
adprobo (I) *t.t.* 50, RA 17  
adscendo ad 5, RA 6  
adsigno (I) *t.t.* 17, RB 18  
adtingo (*post navigationem*)  
4, RA 2/RB 4  
adulescens 4, RA 1/RB 2 (-o-)  
adulescens ... senex (*locus communis*)  
26, RA 20/RB 18  
adulter: 26, RA 30 mors adultera  
advenio: *t.t.* 34, RA/RB 2  
(= revenio) 48, RA 31  
aequaliter 12, RA 19  
aereus\* 18, RA 8  
aes, -ris 10, RB 7, *cf.* *Introd.* III.5;  
ex aere collato 32, RA 53.57  
(*e coni.*/RB 29; 38, RA 5/RB 4  
aestimo (*u.l.* extimo) 29, RA 9  
aetas perfecta 51, RA 8/RB 7  
affectus, -us 34, RB 18 (βΜπ)  
afflictio luctus 32, RA 20  
agito (I) caput 42, RA/RB 6  
agnosco 16, RA 4  
(signaculum) 20, RA 2  
agnosco legem 5, RB 6  
ago + *dat./abl.* (?)\* 34, RA 12;  
ago deo gratias, quod (quia P)  
9, RA/RB 13  
aio ad aliquem 4, RA 6/RB 5; 5, RA 1;  
33, RA 16; 34, RA 2, *cf.* dico ad  
aio intra me 40, RA/RB 1  
ait (*in dialogo, saepius repetitum*)  
2, RA/RB 2  
aliquanti (= aliquot) 25, RA 8  
aliquis: ne aliquis ~ ne quis

35, RA/RB 2, *cf.* 39, RA 9/RB 11  
 aliter diligere 1, RA 9  
 aliud ... quam 26, RA 14  
 alius: *dat.* alio (*cl.* alii) 45, RB 17  
     (= alter) 7, RA/RB 1; 51, RB 28  
 altus ventus 25, RB 5  
 amantissimus (*i.q.* amat-) 7, RB 2 (**b**)  
 amarus: -issime fleo 25, RA 16;  
     45, RB 13, *cf.* 25, RA 33  
     planctus amarissimus 49, RA 13  
 amatrix studiorum\* 17, RA 13/RB 12  
 ambiguitas sermonum 22, RB 6  
 amicus 14, RA 22; 15, RA 3/RB 2  
 amo (I): amatus; 17, RA 17/RB 15  
     amata  
 amor ... circa; 7, RB 3 ~ RA 3 amor ...  
     erga  
 amores 20, RA 3/RB 2  
 amplexus, -us 45, RA 1  
 amplio (I) pecuniam 36, RA 4/RB 5  
 ampulla vini 30, RA 8, *al.*  
 angelicus: habitus 48, RA 3  
     vultus 48, RB 2  
 angelus: angelo admonente 48, RA 34  
 anicula ~ ancilla 29, RA 7/RB 6  
 animus ~ anima 14, RA 21/RB 17  
 anulo signo (I) 19, RA 14/RB 13  
 anxio (I) 45, RB 2  
 aperio comam 'remove'  
     37, RA 12/RB 14  
 apertius (indicare) 15, RA 16/RB 14  
 apodixis 27, RA 13/RB 12  
 aprior (I) 32, RB 11; 34, RB 27  
 appello (I) aliquem regem\* 48, RA 25  
 approximo (I) me 13, RA 14  
 aqua dulcis 8, RB 9  
 arduus: ardua potestas caelorum  
     44, RA 7/RB 9  
 argenteus (= siclus) 10, RB 8 ( $\pi$ )  
 arma ~ arva 11, RA 10 (*app. crit.*)  
 armamenta 8, RB 9  
 ars studiorum 40, RA 29/RB 24  
     artes liberales 29, RA 1  
 aspectus\*, -us 'locus, unde spectatur'  
     35, RA/RB 4  
 assigno (I) ~ designo 14, RA 15/RB 12  
 assuetus + *abl.* 48, RA 13  
 at ubi (*adubi v.l.*) 16, RA 12/RB 11;  
     38, RA 8 (**A**)/RB 6-7; 45, RA 6 (**A**)  
 atque: adque (*v.l.*) 38, RA 2 (**A**)  
     atque ita 6, RA 17 (**A**)\*,  
     *cf.* Introd. V.1

atqui (*e conii.*) 3, RA 9 (et quia AP)  
 auctor (*v.l.* actor, *i.q.* scriptor)  
     6, RA 12 (**A**)  
 audio (*sc.* sermonem) 41, RB 34  
     audio ~ video 4, RA 6/RB 5;  
     5, RA/RB 1; 33, RA 3/RB 2  
 auditorium 29, RA 4/RB 3; 30, RB 6,  
     *cf.* 30, RA 6 schola  
 auditus, -us\* 29, RA 3  
 aula, -ae 43, RB 17 (**RE**)  
 aureus\* 10, RA 8.9/RB 8;  
     33, RA 27/RB 25;  
     34, RA 11.21/RB 10.22.25;  
     35, RA 5;  
     39, RA 19.27.29/RB 9.19.26.28;  
     41, RA 20.22.26.28/RB 20.22.25.27;  
     44, RA 1.3  
 auricula\* 46, RA/RB 9  
 auricularius 46, RB 9 (**M** $\pi$ )  
 aurum: *cf.* libra, sestertius  
 avarus ~ amarus 39, RA 5/RB 8  
 aversus ~ adversus 31, RA 30/RB 18  
     ( **$\beta$ M** $\pi$ )  
 balnea ~ -um 7, RA 5/RB 4  
 barbarus 32, RA/RB 3  
 barbulae\* ('down') 25, RA 15  
 basis (statuae) 10, RA 16/RB 4;  
     47, RB 11  
 beatus: cives beatissimi 50, RA 5/RB 6  
 bene: bene venisti 26, RA 23/RB 20  
     bene venit in mentem (-e *v.l.*)  
     40, RA 24/RB 19  
 beneficium (= fructus)  
     27, RA 16/RB 15  
     beneficio (*i.q.* merito, propter)  
     12, RA 3/RB 2  
 benignus: benignissimus  
     51, RA 19/RB 16  
 benigne 11, RB 3; 51, RB 24 ( **$\beta$ M**)  
 bestiae terrae 50, RA 27  
 bibliotheca 51, RB 28  
 biga 10, RA 15/RB 12; 29, RB 26;  
     50, RA/RB 10  
 bimulus 34, RB 10  
 bitumino (I) 25, RB 21 (*v.l.*)  
 blandus: blandae preces 33, RB 22 ( $\pi$ )  
 bonitas 45, RB 19  
     bonitas ~ benignitas 16, RA/RB 9  
 bonus: bone rex 4, RB 15;  
     15, RA/RB 4; 16, RB 15;  
     17, RA 12.17/RB 11.15;



- 20, RA 15/RB 11; 21, RA 13/RB 11  
 bone domine 50, RB 12  
 bona senectas 51, RA 33  
 bonus optimus 14, RA 7  
 in melius restituo 32, RA 34
- caelum 32, RA 12; 41, RA/RB 11, *al.*  
 caelorum potestas 44, RA 7/RB 9  
 caligo tempestatis 12, RA/RB 2  
 calx, -cis: calce percutio 44, RB 7  
 cantica 23, RA 13  
 capillus: capilli (plur.) ~ capillus (sing.)  
 28, RA/RB 14; 29, RA 21/RB 20  
 capilli ~ crines 31, RA 30/RB 19  
 capio ~ carpo 17, RA 2 (app. crit.)  
 capsula navis 38, RA 17  
 carbasa 11, RB 7  
 cardo, -inis 11, RA 15 'from the bot-  
 tom'  
 cassus dolor 41, RA 15  
 cassus labor 41, RB 13  
 castitas 27, RA 23/RB 20;  
 40, RA 40/RB 34; 48, RA 12  
 casus, -us (*vox adamata in HA, praesertim  
 in certis quibusdam locutionibus*):  
 5, RA 14/RB 12; 16, RA/RB 3  
 casus describere 51, RB 27  
 casus exponere 16, RA/RB 1;  
 28, RA/RB 3; 30, RB 7;  
 31, RB 18; 34, RA/RB 7;  
 35, RA 19.22/RB 18; 36, RB 3;  
 48, RA 5.15/RB 4  
 casus infirmitatis 29, RA 6/RB 5;  
 29, RB 27  
 casus fortunae 34, RA 9 (RB 9  
 temporum vices!)
- causa = res 40, RA 32/RB 27;  
 46, RB 14  
 causa (= de) 22, RA 13  
 causā + *dat.* (*cl.* + *gen.*) 46, RA 6 (A)  
 causā (*primo loco*) 46, RA 6/RB 8;  
 49, RB 8
- celebritas navium 39, RA 13/RB 14  
 cella 33, RA 25/RB 23; 34, RB 3  
 celo (I) + *dat.*?/abl.? 31, RA 24  
 centri (?) 42, RA 14 (*u.l.*; cantus)  
 cera 20, RA 18/RB 15  
 c(h)eroma, -tis\* 13, RA 21/RB 16  
 ceroma, -ae 13, RB 16 (b)  
 certus 1, RB 16; 7, RA 13/RB 12;  
 11, RA 7; 25, RA 8; 43, RA 9/RB 8  
 certē dico 21, RA 17/RB 14;  
 37, RA 4/RB 5  
 certē intereo 32, RA 21  
 cervicarium *cf.* 26, RA 7-9  
 Chaldaei (*i.q.* astrologi)\* 6, RA 13  
 charta plumbea 25, RA 27/RB 20  
 chorda 16, RA 13.26/RB 11.23  
 circa (*cl.* erga, ad) 7, RB 3;  
 32, RA 39; 36, RA 6/RB 9  
 circumduco (foramina) 25, RB 20  
 circundo (I) (*u.l.*) 50, RB 16  
 cithara, lyra 23, RA 13,  
*cf.* 16, RA/RB 10 lyra  
 cives 10, RA 3.9.13/RB 2.7.12;  
 13, RA 5 (*e conī.*) 19 (P)/RB 5;  
 29, RA 25/RB 27; 31, RA/RB 3  
 civitas (= urbs) 1, RA 1.2/RB 1;  
 7, RA 1.3/RB 3; 8, RA 3;  
 9, RA 8.9/14.16/RB 4.16 *saepissime*,  
*cf.* porta civitatis, princeps patriae,  
 urbs  
 civitas (*omissum*), *cf. s.v.* Mitylena,  
 Tharsia, Tyria (*forma elliptica*)  
 clamo (I) (*i.q.* conclamo) 32, RA 48;  
 clamo (I) (= exclamo) dicens  
 46, RA 20  
 clamo (I) et dico 13, RA 5;  
 16, RA 27  
 clamor et ululatus 25, RA 13  
 classes navium 8, RA/RB 1.2;  
 46, RA 4/RB 5  
 claudio (*de balneis*) 7, RA/RB 5  
 clementia regni 50, RA 36  
 clementiae indulgentia  
 20, RA 15/RB 12, *cf.* 16, RA/RB 7  
 clipeum\* 11, RA/RB 10  
 coagmento (I) 25, RB 19  
 coagulo (I): coagulatus sanguis  
 27, RA/RB 6, *al.*  
 codex ~ volumen 6, RA/RB 11  
 codicellus (-ill- *u.l.*) 19, RA 10/RB 11  
 codicelli (plur.) ~ codicillus (sing.)  
 20, RA 5.8  
 coepi (*periphr.*) 1, RA 9;  
 1, RA 17 (RB 16 cupit);  
 32, RA 5 (RB 4 fugit); 39, RA 15  
 coetaneus 21, RA 5  
 cogito (I) de aliqua re ('worry about  
 something') 22, RA 9  
 cogito (*i.q.* cogo) 1, RB 7 (β)  
 cohortor (I) 2, RA 15 (RB 13 hortor)  
 collega ~ discipulus 34, RA 15/RB 17  
 colligo (I) (*e conī.*) 32, RA 6

- collo (I) 32, RA 6  
colloco (I): sedes collocatae  
32, RA 15-16; (*e coni.*) 32, RA 6  
colloco (I) *t.t.* 27, RA 22  
comes, -itis 51, RA 21-28/RB 18  
comicus habitus 16, RA 28  
comito (I) 43, RA 23.27/RB 16.19  
commeatus, -us 5, RB 7  
commendo (I) 28, RA 8/RB 9  
commendo sepulturae  
26, RA 15/RB 14  
commendo ~ relinquo  
28, RA 11/RB 12  
comparo (I) 13, RA 16/RB 15;  
(*i.q.* emo) 8, RA 26/RB 30  
comparandus (= comparabilis)  
13, RA 16/RB 15  
complexo (I) 23, RA 16  
compleo libram *t.t.* 34, RB 23  
comprehendo ab auriculis\* 46, RA 8  
comprobo (I): comprobasti ~  
conprobas 24, RA 17/RB 14  
conclamo (I) 25, RB 26  
concumbo (-cub- *v.l.*) 24, RA 13/RB 25  
concupiscentia 1, RA 8  
concupisco 21, RB 13  
confabulor (I) ~ dico 30, RA/RB 3  
confessio 50, RA 25  
confestim 6, RA 8/RB 6  
confundo 34, RA/RB 8.26;  
40, RA 21/RB 17  
confusi (= conturbati) 50, RA 26  
confundor + *inf.* (*i.q.* pudet me)  
14, RA 12/RB 10  
congrego (I) ~ coagulo (I)  
46, RA 16/RB 15  
coniugatio (*v.l.*) 22, RA 20  
coniunctio 22, RA 20  
coniungo aliquem alicui/ad aliquem  
22, RA 9-10  
conluctor (I) 1, RA 9 (P)  
conpagino (I) ~ coagmento (I)  
25, RA 25/RB 19  
conscius 45, RA 3  
consedeo (-si- *v.l.*) 23, RB 2  
consilior (I) 32, RA 14  
consolationem recipio 40, RA 31  
consolatio (*i.q.* consolator) 17, RA 22  
conspetus, -us: in conspectu (*i.q.*  
coram) 48, RA 15.17.23; 50, RA 20  
constanter 13, RA 20/RB 16;  
40, RA 37/RB 31  
constituo: constitutus sum (*periphr.*)\*  
24, RA 20  
constituo abbatem *sim.*  
49, RA 11/RB 13  
consulo: consultum est + *dat.*\*  
50, RA 3  
contemptum habeo 'I endure  
contempt' 41, RA 9  
contemptor regni 7, RA 17  
contendo 'bid a price'  
33 RA 4.11/RB 4.10  
contingo 27, RA 10/RB 9  
contremo 33, RA 20/RB 19; 37, RA 7;  
50, RA 20, RB 18  
contumelia tui (*gen. obi.*) 19, RA 15  
convenit + *dat.*\* 42, RA/RB 5-6  
convivium 23, RB 6; 49, RA 10/RB 12  
convoco (I) 23, RA/RB 2; (*de uno  
homine*) 31, RA 14  
cor: secundum cor meum, *etc.*  
51, RA 21  
corda: *cf. s.v.* chorda  
corona 16, RA 21/RB 19; 30, RA 8;  
31, RA 28/RB 17  
corono (I) 16, RA 21;  
49, RA 10/RB 12; 51, RB 4  
corpus (*i.q.* 'dead body')  
25, RA 24/RB 16  
corpusculum\* 25, RA 16  
corpusculum\* ~ corpus  
33, RA 21/RB 20  
corruo (= prosterni) 2, RB 2;  
48, RA 21/RB 15  
corusco (I) 43, RB 9  
coruscus (cho- A) 43, RA 10  
crastinus: crastina die 36, RA 2  
creator ... auctor 41, RA 14/RB 12  
credo, quia 38, RA 2/RB 1  
crinis (*fem.*) ~ crinis (*masc.*)  
43, RA/RB 3  
crudelitas 4, RA/RB 1 (crudelitates  
exercere); 41, RB 21 'cruel pain'  
crus, -uris: quattuor crura\*  
39, RA/RB 29  
crura frangere 39, RA 10/RB 11  
crurifragium 39, RA 10  
cubiculum interior 6, RB 10  
cum (*coniunctio*) + *ind.* 1, RA 9;  
3, RA 1; 7, RA 5; 21, RA 5;  
37, RA/RB 1, *al.*  
cum (*coniunctio*) *concess.* + *coni.* ~ licet  
42, RA 46/RB 31

cum (*praep.*) + *acc.* 29, RB 19-20 (**bM**);  
 31, RB 22 (**b**); 44, RA 12-13  
 cunabulus 10, RA 14  
 + *gen.*\* 17, RA 2/RB 1  
 cunabula, -orum: ab ipsis cunabulis  
 44, RA 8  
 cunctus: cuncti parentes  
 4, RA 5/RB 5-6  
 curia 45, RA 7/RB 23  
 curiositas 32, RA 24  
 curro 25, RA 13/RB 10; 30, RB 4;  
 36, RB 6; 45, RB 2.3.24  
 (*de procis*)\* 1, RA/RB 6  
 cursus: *abl.* curso 37, RA 3  
 custodio virginitatem 'maintain'  
 35, RA 11

d.d. (= dedit, dedicavit):

10, RA 18/RB 16 donum dedit;  
 32, RB 29, *cf.* D.M.

D.M. (= Dis Manibus):

Dii Manes 32, RA 54 (= 38, RA 9)  
 Diis Manibus 38, RB 8

de (*cl.* a) 13, RA 21/RB 17; 24, RA 7;  
 51, RA 29/RB 23, *al.*

de longe ~ a longe 37, RA 3/RB 4  
 + *gen. partitivus* 40, RA 5  
 + *acc.* 35, RB 8  
 + *abl. instrum.* 39, RA 29

dea (*sc.* Artemis) 48, RA 22

deambulo (I) 8, RA 4/RB 11; 9, RA 1;  
 19, RA/RB 2; 24, RB 3 ( $\beta\pi$ );  
 26, RA/RB 3; 39, RA 8/RB 14;  
 51 RA 11/RB 10

decedo ~ discedo 31, RA 11/RB 8

decenter 40, RA 11/RB 9

deceptus (*i.q.* privatus) 20, RA/RB 17

decido (= morior) 26, RA 14/RB 13

decollo (I) 3, RA 6.8/RB 6.10

decoratus\* 40, RA 6

dedecus 'a disgrace' 31, RA 6/RB 4

deduco *t.t.* 46, RB 7

definitio (*diff. v.l.*) (= statuo)

41, RA 31/RB 30

de foris 34, RA 24

deformatus ~ formatus 24, RA/RB 2

deinde: et ac deinde (*v.l.*) 36, RA 4 (**P**)

demonstro (I): ex demonstrato

24, RB 3

depono squalorem 46, RA 11/RB 10

depost 50, RB 16

descendo + *acc.* 28, RA/RB 2

designo (I) 21, RA 3

destino (I) 39, RB 24

detondeo ~ tondeo 46, RA/RB 11

deus (*christianorum*), *passim in HA*

(*minus in RB*), *praesertim in certis locutionibus (abl. abs.)*; *RB saepius variat*: 21, RA 16; 22, RA 22;

24, RA 13; 31, RA 25.37/RB 24;

32, RA 12.34.42.44; 34, RB 5;

35, RA 17/RB 14; 39, RB 2;

40, RA 16.34/RB 12.28;

41, RA/RB 12 deus creator omnium;

43, RA 24; 44, RB 4.17; 45, RB 16

*Praeterea*: dei fulmine percussus

24, RA 13, *cf.* RB 20

de deo meliora sperare

14, RA 25/RB 20

deo gratias agere 9, RA/RB 13;

17, RA 22; 32, RA/RB 7

deum testari 30, RA 1; 31, RB 23;

50, RB 24. *Imprimis*: deo adveniente

12, RA 23 (**P**), *cf.* app. crit.

deo favente 4, RA 11/RB 14;

12, RB 25; 13, RA 10

deo gubernante 28, RA/RB 1

deo iubente 41, RB 9

deo volente 12, RB 4 ( $\beta\pi$ );

13, RB 10; 20, RA 10.

*Cf.* dominus = deus

deus creator omnium 41, RA 14/RB 12

devoceo: devotum regnum 24, RA 18

devota virginitas 40, RA 35

diadema, -atis 24, RA 26/RB 21;

46, RA 12/RB 11

diadema, -ae 46, RB 11 ( $\beta$ )

dico: *cf.*icens 3, RA 4/RB 5 dicendo

6, RA 14 locutus esticens;

49, RA 2 clamans dicens/RB 3

clamavit dicens

50, RA 7 clamaverunt dicentes

aio ad, 5, RA 1; 39, RA 7

dico ad aliquem 39, RA 26, *cf.* aio

ad 5, RA 1; 39, RA 7

dico, quod 48, RA 40

bene dicis\* 17, RA/RB 20

dies: (*fem.*) 2, RA 5; 34, RA/RB 2

(*mas.*) 2, RB 5; 36, RB 2;

39, RA 5/RB 7

dies festus (*sing.*) ~ dies festi (*plur.*)

39, RA 5/RB 7

differo 6, RA 15/RB 17

dilatatus (*pro*: dilatus) 6, RA 15 (**A**)

dignitas prior\* 'the former clothes'

30, RA 6

dignor (I): dignare (= quaeso)

24, RA 9

si dignaris 39, RA 17/RB 18 digneris

dilectio 23, RA 16/RB 8

dimidius ~ medius 32, RA 26/RB 25

dimitto ~ relinquo 51, RA 9/RB 8

dirigo 48, RB 3

dirigo iter 48, RA 4; d. (*sc. iter*)

7, RB 12

dirigo ~ mitto 19, RA/RB 11

discedo: discessi sunt 17, RB 11 (b)

discedo ~ secedo 4, RA 11/RB 13

discipulus 26, RA 2.20/RB 2.17;

27, RA 13.15/RB 12.13; 34, RB 17

disco, quod 40, RA 8/RB 7

discrimen maris 39, RA/RB 2

dispensator 6, RA/RB 1;

7, RA 12/RB 6.12

dispensator (navis)

39, RA 7/RB 7.12

dispono (= statuo) 24, RA 21/RB 17

disturbare sibi 11, RA 4

distraho: distracta (= vendita)

44, RB 17 (M $\pi$ ); 45, RB 15

diu 1, RA/RB 14, *cf. s.v. tempus*

diversus: diversa (= varia) 39, RA/RB 2

do (I): ad aliquem (= alicui)

34, RA 20, *cf. s.v. ad*

do in manu 34, RA/RB 11

do supra 'I give in amount'

33, RA 11

do opera ~ operam 36, RB 1

doceo in aliqua re\* 29, RA 3

doctrinae (*plur.*) 22, RA 15.18

doctus: docta manus

13, RA 17.20/RB 16

dolet tibi 20, RA 8/RB 7

dolor: (*masc.*) 1, RA 10/RB 9

(*fem.*) 37, RB 19 (β)

domesticus (*subst.*) 3, RB 2

dominus (= deus) (*RB plerumque* 'deus'

*substituit*): 14, RA 15; 31, RA 36;

32, RA 1; 32, RB 11; 39, RA 2;

40, RA 33; 44, RA 18; 50, RA 31

dominus: (*vi iuridica*):

25, RA 20/RB 15; 31, RA 18;

32, RA 11; 39, RB 5.21;

40, RA 22/RB 18

dominus navis 39, RA 24/RB 22-23;

40, RA 13.30/RB 10.20

(*in familia*) 48, RA 9/RB 6

(*in honorifica allocutione*)

15, RA/RB 6; 17, RA 3/RB 2;

31, RA 36/RB 23;

33, RA 21/RB 15.19; 34, RB 4;

35, RA 21/RB 17; 40, RA 18/RB 15;

50, RB 13

*Praesertim* domine rex 4, RA 3.13;

7, RA/RB 14; 9, RA 16; 51, RA 26,

*cf. domine mi rex* 51 RB 20

domina (*vi iuridica*): 2, RA/RB 4;

29, RA 7.11/RB 5.9; 31, RA 18;

32, RA 8.11/RB 8;

50, RA 24/RB 22

(*in familia*) (*ad coniugem*)

24, RA 16/RB 13, *cf. domina*

coniunx 51, RB 14

(*ad filiam*) 16, RB 4; 50, RB 14

(*in honorifica allocutione*)

34, RA 11.27/RB 11.28;

40, RA 29/RB 24, *cf. domina regina*

51, RA 17

dos 1, RA/RB 6\*; 19, RA/RB 11\*;

21, RA 2\*; 23, RB 6

dotis quantitas\* 19, RA/RB 11

duco me\* ('skedaddle') 48, RA 39

dum (pauca exempla):

(+ *indic.*) (*raro in RA; plerumque*

*indic. praes. in RB*) 1, RA 6;

8, RB 11 (*ind. imperf.*); 11, RB 5;

13, RB 2.7; 15, RB 1.3 *al.*

(+ *indic. fut. exacto*)(*RB saepius sub-*

*stituit cum*) 5, RA 3/RB 4; 6, RA 5

(*RB cum*); 21, RA 18 (*RB 15 cum*);

48, RA 4

(+ *coni.*) (*in utraque recensione; prae-*

*serrim in RA*) 4, RB 13.14; 9, RA 1;

13, RA 10/RB 9-10; 31, RB 19;

34, RA 3; 44, RA 17; 48, RB 32

(+ *coni.*) (*RB ratione ac via substituit*

*ind. pr.*) 6, RA 13 (*RB 14*);

11, RA 5 (*RB 5*);

13, RA 2.8 (*RB 2.7*);

15, RA 1.3 (*RB 1.3*);

16, RA 4 (*RB 3*); 24, RA 4 (*RB 3*);

25, RA 4 (*RB 6*)

durus ~ dirus 9, RA/RB 10

dux sapientiae (*gen. obi.*) 49, RA 6

ecce 8, RB 27; 14, RA 21/RB 16;

32, RA 18; 34, RA 12/RB 11;

35, RA 6.9/RB 6.9. *al.*

- et ecce 8, RA 23; 37, RA 5; 46, RA 4  
 ecce illa 39, RB 16  
 edo cibum 30, RB 7 (**βM**)  
 effari 48, RA 24  
 effectus, -us (*vi amatoria*) 34, RB 18 (**b**)  
 efficior ~ fio 43, RA 6/RB 5 (**βπ**)  
 effigies 48, RA 12/RB 13  
 efflo (I) spiritum (*i.q.* morior)  
     38, RA 18/RB 15 (**Mπ**)  
 effluo spiritum (*i.q.* morior)  
     38, RB 15 (**β**)  
 effugire ~ effugere 7, RA 16/RB 15  
 effusio sanguinis 31, RA 25  
 ego rogo (= rogo) 24, RA 12  
 egredior ~ effluo 44, RA 6/RB 8  
 emanatio 48, RA 22  
 emano (I) (*de splendore*)\*  
     48, RA 22/RB 16  
 emereor + *acc.* 36, RA 3 (**b**)  
 emo ~ comparo (I) 33, RA 14/RB 12  
 en 24, RA 28; 27, RA 13 (*e conī.*)  
 enim (= autem) 31, RA 16/RB 11  
 enitor 25, RA 10/RB 7  
 eo, ire 12, RA 20/RB 23;  
     17, RA 16/RB 14  
     iebat 31, RA/RB 2  
     eo ~ pergo 12, RA 7/RB 10  
 eo, quod 10, RA 18/RB 16; 49, RA 13  
 eo usque ... ut 48, RA 31-32  
 equidem + *imper.* 32, RA 29  
 erga ~ circa 7, RA/RB 3  
 ergo 2, RA 8; 4, RA 13; 6, RA/RB 4, *al.*  
 et: (*et metri causa*) 11, RB 11  
     et ~ sed 1, RA 6  
     (*in apodosi*) 40, RA 26  
     (*i.q.* et tamen), 7, RA/RB 9  
     (*abundat*) 37, RA 13 (**P**)  
     (*indignantis*) 2, RA 9/RB 8; 8, RA 11  
     et non (*cf.* nec) 7, RA 22/RB 21;  
     31, RB 6; 32, RA/RB 4;  
     35, RA 8/RB 7; 37, RA 17;  
     43, RA 6; 46, RB 8  
     et quia 3, RA 9 (**AP**)  
 etiam et 7, RA 20  
 evado + *acc.* 1, RA 16/RB 15; 8, RB 11  
 eventus, -us\* 'disembarkation'  
     8, RB 10  
 ex: ex ~ de 8, RA 13/RB 19  
     ex ~ post 28, RA/RB 6  
     ex demonstrato 34, RB 3  
     ex quo\* (*sc.* tempore) 16, RA 5  
     e(x) + *compar.* (*cl.* abl. compar.)  
     39, RA 14\*  
 excedo (= desisto) 2, RA 14 (*e conī.*)  
 exclamo (I) dicens 32, RA 3;  
     voce magna 45, RB 1  
 excogito (I) (*i.q.* cogito) 32, RA 18  
 excresco: *perf.* excrevi/excrebui  
     36, RA 6/RB 9  
 exemplum: exempli gratissimi  
     8, RA 21/RB 26 (*e conī.*)  
     crudelis exempli (*gen. qualitatis*)  
     37, RB 7  
 exeo + *acc.* 21, RA 6/RB 4  
 exequiae funeris 29, RB 15  
 exerceo crudelitates 4, RA/RB 1  
 exerro (I) 1, RA 3  
 exhilaro (I) 10, RA 10 exhilarati facti;  
     16, RA 11/RB 10; 25, RA 1  
 exinde 48, RA 1  
 exitus, -us rerum 34, RB 18;  
     (*abstr. pro concreto*) 32, RA 48  
     exitus ~ exitium 32, RA 34  
 exordium nativitatis 44, RB 10 (**β<sup>2</sup>π**)  
 exortus, -us nativitatis 44, RB 10 (**β<sup>1</sup>M**)  
 expalleo (*e conī.*) 37, RA 19  
 expatior (*e conī.*) 24, RB 3  
 expecto (I) exitum 35, RA 3  
 explanatio magna\* 41, RA 9  
 expleo rem / res 51, RA 29  
 Explicit 51, RA 35/RB 29  
 exploro (I) ~ exquiro 29, RA 6/RB 5  
 expono 51, RB 28  
 exprimo 16, RA 29/RB 25  
 exuo me + *acc.* 12, RA 18; 13, RA 7,  
     *cf.* induo  
 faber ~ faber navalis 25, RA 25/RB 19  
 fabricor (I) 32, RA 53  
 facio + *infin.* 32, RA 51; 44, RA 5,  
     *cf.* 47, RB 9 (*app. crit.*)  
     grande facit si 34, RB 23  
     rem optimam, ut 8, RA 19  
 facula 26, RA 31/RB 27  
 facundia sermonis ~ facundia oris  
     36, RA/RB 3  
 fallo + *dat.*\* 27, RA 12 (**P**)/RB 10 (**b**)  
 falsus: falsa lacrima 32, RA 25  
 familia 'personal servants'  
     25, RA 7.12/RB 5.9  
 fastidio (*dat.*) habeo ~ fastidio, -ire  
     22, RA 21/RB 14  
 fastigium 3, RA 8/RB 10; 4, RA 8  
 fatigo (I) (*i.q.* vexo) 12, RB 4;

- 19, RA 7; 40, RA 18/RB 14;  
44, RA 8/RB 11  
fatum: ultimum fati diem signo (I)  
29, RA 15; fati munus 50, RA 13  
faustus 10, RB 8, *cf.* Vulg. 1 Macch.  
5,64  
favente deo 4, RA 11/RB 14,  
*cf. s.v.* deus  
felicitas: 'prosperity' 10, RA 6/RB 5  
felicitas studiorum 18, RA/RB 9  
felicitas vestra (= vos)  
46, RA 19; 50, RA 32, *cf. s.v.* pietas  
felicitas ~ pietas  
46, RA 19/RB 17; 50, RA 32/RB 23  
feriatus dies 31, RA/RB 1  
fero: feret/ferit/fert 25, RB 16,  
*cf.* 35, RA 14 (A, Va)  
ferre ~ sustinere 9, RA 9/RB 10  
festinus (venio) 4, RA 4  
fidelis: hospites fidelissimi\*  
37, RA 13/RB 15  
fides pristina 46, RB 14  
fidus + *abl.* 4, RB 3  
figuro (I)\* 32, RA 51  
filia virgo 34, RA 10  
fingo: finctus 37, RA 9  
fingo lacrimas 37, RB 11  
finis (*fem.*) 35, RA 6/RB 5 (b)  
finem impono alicui rei 45, RB 2  
fior (*cl.* fio) 43, RB 5 (M)  
flamma concupiscentiae 1, RA 8  
flamma ~ flamina 11, RA 19/RB 12  
flatus, -us: ventorum flatus 25, RA 9  
fletus magnus 48, RA 24  
flos virginitatis 1, RA 15 (P)  
fluctus, -us: undarum fluctus 25, RA 22  
fluxa membra (prosterno) 18, RA 14  
fomentum 27, RA 19/RB 17  
foras/foris: foras exiens 6, RA 17 (P)  
foris (*cl.* foras) exeo 22, RA 12;  
35, RA 1  
foris (*cl.* a foris/de foris) 34, RA 18  
formositas 1, RA 5  
forsitan (+ *ind.*) 8, RA 10/RB 17;  
12, RA 20-21/RB 23;  
15, RA 10/RB 9; 32, RA 20-21;  
40, RA 34/RB 28; 41, RA 18  
(+ *coni.*) 41, RB 18-19  
fortasse 30, RA 1  
forte 29, RA 23; 37, RA 15  
fortiter (= valde) 28, RA 13; 48, RA 40  
fortuna: fortuna premente 11, RA 2  
fortunae casus 34, RA 9  
forum 10, RA 2.15/RB 1.13;  
19, RA/RB 1; 20, RA 13/RB 10;  
29, RA 24/RB 25; 33, RA 2;  
45, RA 7; 46, RA 9.10/RB 1.9;  
50, RA 4  
fraudulentus: fraudulenta mors  
47, RA 4  
frequens locus 36, RA 3/RB 2  
frico (I) 13, RA 21/RB 16  
fugae praesidium mando (I)  
8, RA 17/RB 22  
fugire ~ fugere 7, RA 16/RB 15  
Fuit 1, RB 1  
fulcio: *perf.* fulcivi/fulsi 'to push in'  
27, RB 20  
fulgida, -orum 11, RA 18  
fundo statuam 47, RA/RB 9  
funus, -eris (*i.q.* corpus mortuum)  
25, RA 30  
furia (*sing.*) 32, RA 17  
furor insaniae 31, RA 7  
gaudium (*vl.* god- 45, RA 2)  
gaudio plenus 7, RA/RB 12;  
18, RA 8/RB 7; 21, RB 12;  
24, RA 15, *cf.* app. crit./RB 12;  
27, RA 12/RB 11  
gaudia, -ae 18, RB 7, *cf.* app. crit.  
gaudium et lacrimae  
49, RA 12/RB 14  
gemma 33, RA 16/RB 14  
gemma regalis 48, RB 11  
gener (*i.q.* futurus gener) 4, RA 5  
generositas 36, RA 8/RB 11  
generositas – nobilitas  
15, RA 12-13/RB 11  
genesis (geneusis A) *astrologica* 38, RA 2  
genitor (*i.q.* pater) 2, RA 10/RB 11;  
3, RA/RB 1; 24, RA 24/RB 19;  
50, RB 15, *al.*  
gens 2, RA 12/RB 10 gentes  
(*i.q.* homines)  
genu: genibus provolutus  
12, RA 14/RB 17  
gero amorem 32, RA 39  
Gesta *tit.*, RA  
gladius iniquus 41, RA/RB 4  
glomerare in se 11, RA 17  
grandis 32, RA 17; 43, RB 17  
quid grande 34, RB 23  
gratulor, quod (*i.q.* gaudeo)

- 20, RA 9/RB 8  
gubernator 25, RB 15  
gubernius 25, RA 20  
gubernus 39, RA 26  
guberno (I): gubernante deo  
28, RA/RB 1, *cf. s.v. deus*  
gustatio 14, RA 16/RB 12  
gymnasium 13, RA/RB 4; 15, RA 7/RB 6
- habeo conturbatum animum 5, RA 5  
habeo annos, ex quo\* 31, RA 9  
habeo (*sc. in utero*) ('to be pregnant') 24, RA 1  
habeo male\* 20, RA 5  
habeo mihi 46, RA 26/RB 24  
habitus (= vestis) 14, RA 12/RB 10,  
*cf. 16, RA 21/RB 19; 48, RA 3*  
habundantia litterarum 4, RB 3;  
20, RA 9/RB 8  
habundantia studiorum  
20, RA 9/RB 8; 36, RB 7  
haec et his similia 25, RA 19/RB 14;  
49, RA/RB 1  
haereo 50, RB 15  
hesternus (externus *u.l.*) 18, RA/RB 6  
hic ~ iste 7, RA/RB 8; 15, RA 5/RB 4;  
45, RA 6.8  
hic ~ ille 15, RA/RB 6  
Historia *tit.*, RA(A)/RB(B)  
homo ~ omnis 11, RA 5/RB 4  
honestas morum 29, RA 3  
honestus ~ honestatus 8, RA 9/RB 16  
honestus et decoratus\* 40, RA 6  
honorati 31, RA/RB 3  
honoratus ~ honorabilis  
15, RA/RB 5  
hora (= tempus) 8, RA 5  
horarum spatia (RA; -ium RB)  
50, RA 31/RB 25  
horret (*inpers.*) 2, RA 11 (*ex coni.*)  
hortamentum laetitiae 41, RA 37  
hortor (I) *c. inf.* 40, RA 31  
hospes, -itis (*u.l. ospes*)  
37, RA 13/RB 15  
hospitalis: hospitalia (*neutr. plur.*)  
17, RA 16/RB 14  
humilio (I) 34, RB 5
- iaceo 'I ly ill' 18, RA 15/RB 14  
iacto (I) ad aliquid 50, RA 28  
iam (adultus)\* 15, RA 2/RB 1  
ibique (*class. ibi*) 39, RA 3, *cf. que*
- abundat*  
id: eo, quod 10, RA 18/RB 16;  
11, RB 3; 35, RA 11 (A)  
ignarus + *abl.* 42, RB 7 (π)  
ignis (*sing.*) ~ ignes (*plur.*)  
46, RA 22/RB 11  
ignoro (I), quia 33, RA/RB 18  
ille (= is) 15, RA 8.9/RB 7.8; 20, RA 14  
*passim*  
ille (*articulo loco positum*); iuvenis ille  
7, RA 14; 21, RA 2; 21, RA 17  
(*cf. app. crit.*)/RB 14; 24, RA 9;  
40, RA 25; 41, RA 12.22/RB 12,  
*al., cf. Introd. II.a*  
imago mortis 3, RB 11 (*cf. Verg., Aen.*  
2,639)  
imbecillus (= aegrotus) 18, RA 15;  
19, RA/RB 10  
imbrifer 11, RA 9  
immenso (= valde) 4, RB 3  
impero (I) ad aliquem 46, RA 14  
impetro (I) ~ impero (I)  
46, RA 14/RB 13  
impietas 1, RA 17/RB 15;  
2, RA 8/RB 7; 48, RA 28/RB 22  
impious: impius amor 6, RB 15  
impiissimus 3, RB 1  
impius thorus 3, RA/RB 3  
impium (*e coni.*) pelagus 25, RA 9  
impio (*cl. -e*) 12, RB 9  
impleo 22, RB 23  
impleo fati munus 50, RA 13  
impono diadema 46, RA 12/RB 11  
impudenter 20, RA 17/RB 14  
imus: imo pectore 50, RA 19  
in: in die 26, RA 2, *cf. 51, RA 11*  
in loco 50, RA 1, *cf. 51, RA 29/RB 23*  
adoptare in filiam 27, RA 20.  
*Cf. 28, RA/RB 4-5.*  
in melius 'for the better' 32, RA 34  
in unum paritur 23, RA 2-3  
incido + *acc.* 32, RA 33  
incido in amorem 1, RA/RB 8  
incido in arte musica  
16, RA 18/RB 16  
incipit *tit.*, RA  
increpo (I) + *dat.* 12, RA 8\*  
incurro + *acc.* 18, RA 16/RB 15  
incurro ~ incido 33, RA 19/RB 18  
indago (I) 7, RA 21  
indago, -ginis 7, RA 22/RB 21  
indulgentia 16, RA/RB 7



- induo aliquem aliqua re  
 14, RA 13/RB 11; 46, RB 10;  
 48, RB 28  
 aliquem aliquid\* 32, RA 46;  
 46, RA 10; 48, RA 18.35  
 induit dignitatem priorem\* 30, RA 6  
 induit statum\* 16, RA 21/RB 19  
 induo coniugem 1, RA/RB 11  
 infamia: servus infamiae\* 44, RA 16  
 infans ~ filia 28, RA 12/RB 13 (βMπ)  
 infanticida 45, RB 25 (π)  
 infaustus 33, RA 3; 46, RA 6.26/RB 24  
 inferi 50, RB 14.18  
 infinitus (= multus) 35, RB 5;  
 36, RB 10; *cf.* 17, RA 2  
 infirmitas multa ~ infirmitas simulata  
 18, RA/RB 14  
 inflammo (I): inflammatus prudentia  
 42, RA 26/RB 20  
 infra (*cl.* intra) 42, RB 32  
 infulcio 27, RA 22  
 ingemuit et ait 29, RA 10/RB 9  
 ingenium 29, RA 2  
 ingens (*vox amata in HA*):  
 ingens amor 23, RA 15; ingens  
 honor 11, RA 4/RB 3, *cf.* 47, RA 18;  
 ingens laetitia 47, RB 17,  
*cf.* 49, RB 11; ingens luctus  
 28, RA/RB 1, *cf.* 40, RA 17; ingens  
 planctus 7, RA 2; ingens populus  
 36, RB 7; ingens statua 47, RB 9;  
 ingens tribunal 46, RA/RB 10  
 concursus magnus et ingens  
 46, RA 1  
 ingenuus (*vl.*) 36, RA 8 (P)  
 ingenui et servi 13, RA 6\*  
 ingredior ad 4, RA 3/RB 4; 4, RA 12;  
 7, RA 13; 32, RA 15; 34, RA 3;  
 51, RA 5/RB 3  
 iniquus (= malus)  
 (*de hominibus*) 32, RA 41; 41, RB 4;  
 48, RA 26.38; (*superlat.*)/RB 30  
 (*de rebus*) 1, RA/RB 7; 41, RA 4  
 gladio iniquo (RB 4 iniqui)  
 inlido(r) + *dat.*\* ~ inludo 36, RA/RB 2  
 inlumino (I) orbem 11, RA 8  
 innocens  
 (*i.q.* nullo damno affectus 'harm-  
 less') 6, RA 10; 42, RA 32/RB 24  
 (β), *cf.* app. crit.  
 (sine culpa 'innocent') 6, RB 7;  
 8, RA 24/RB 28;  
*praesertim* virgo/filia innocens  
 31, RA 16.26.32; 32, RA 40;  
 40, RA 39/RB 33; 44, RA 8/RB 10;  
 48, RA 7/RB 5  
 inquit (*pleonast.*) 32, RA 30  
 inrumpo cubiculum 1, RA/RB 12  
*inscriptiones*  
 1) 10, RA 17-19//RB 15-17;  
 2) 32, RA 54-57/RB 27-29  
 (= 38, RA 9-12/RB 8-10);  
 3) 47, RA 12-16/RB 12-15  
 insidior (I)\* 'lay in wait' 34, RA 17;  
 35, RB 4  
 insidiosa fraus 32, RB 14  
 insisto + *acc.*\* 8, RB 2  
 insuper et 32, RA 10  
 integer: libra integra 34, RA 22  
 virginitas integra 36, RA 8/RB 11  
 integro ... anno 51, RA 8/RB 7  
 intelligo *c.* (*adiectivo, infm. omissio*)  
 16, RB 18; 33, RB 5  
 interior ... pars pelagi\* 8, RB 6-7;  
 interiora pelagi 8, RB 6 (β);  
 inter ~ intra 47, RA 17/RB 16  
 intervenio (= venio) 48, RA 13  
 intra: ait intra se 40, RA/RB 1  
 introeo (*sc.* domum) 6, RA 10 (A);  
 (*abs.*) 25, RA 20  
 invehō coronas\* 30, RA 8;  
 (*abs.*) 25, RA 20;  
 invehor (?) navem 6, RA 8  
 invicem 49, RB 9  
 se invicem 35, RA 2-3  
 ad invicem 30, RA 3  
 invideo ~ invideor  
 14, RA 22.23/RB 17.18  
 inviolabiliter: 27, RA 22/RB 20;  
 40, RA 40/RB 34  
 invito (I) ~ rogo (I) 15, RA 8/RB 7  
 invoco (I) 30, RA 9; ('invite') 23, RA 1\*  
 ipse (= idem) 8, RA 5  
 iratus: iratum sentire 31, RA 18;  
 32, RA 11  
 iratus est 35, RA 11  
 iratus contra aliquem 31, RA 17  
 ire: 12, RA 7 ibo (RB 10 pergam);  
 17, RA 16/RB 14 eamus; 31, RA 26  
 ibat, *cf.* 32, RB 11: *videas ss.vv.* abeo,  
 (de)ambulo, pergo, vado  
 is ~ hic 1, RA/RB 2  
 is/hic ~ ille 39, RA 10/RB 11  
 iste, -a, -um: istud 37, RA 16



- ita: ita ... non (= nonne)  
20, RA 8/RB 7, *cf.* 36, RA 8-9
- itaque (*postpositum*) 10, RA 7/RB 5;  
12, RA 7/RB 10; 32, RA 12;  
34, RA 18 *al.*  
(*tertio loco*); 19, RA 13
- item (*tantummodo in RA: RB aut omisit  
aut iterum scripsit*): 35, RA 9;  
40, RA 10; 42, RA 16.21.26.34.42;  
43, RA 1.8.14.20
- iter carpo/capio 13, RA/RB 1(βM);  
iter dirigo 48, RA 4
- iterato (= iterum)  
8, RA 7/RB 15; 13, RA 21
- iterum(P)\* 12, RA 2  
iterum 42, RB 27; 43, RB 1.7
- iubeo *c. inf. act. (promiscue c. inf. pass.)*  
8, RB 1 (b).11.18; 16, RA 10 afferre  
(*at* RA 11 -erri); 25, RA 26/RB 19;  
48, RB 26; 50, RA 3 *al.*  
iubeo (+ *dat.*) 33, RA 27; 48, RB 7  
(+ *dat.* + *ut*) 51, RA 13  
iubeo, quod 39, RA 31  
iubeo, ut 39, RB 29-30; 51, RA 13  
si iubes 'if you wish' 24, RB 18
- iudex inter nos 32, RA 13
- iugiter 51, RA 8
- iugulum 32, RB 2 (M, *cf.* ed. m.)
- iugum mortis 32, RB 2
- iunctio (*ex coni.*) 22, RA 20
- iunctura tabularum 25, RA 27
- iuramentum 28, RB 16
- iuro (I): per salutem meam\*  
14, RA 2/14, RB 1 per comunem  
salutem; 18, RA/RB 10  
iuravi\* (RA: iuro RB) ... per spem  
vitae meae 26, RA 16/RB 15;  
28, RA 13.16/RB 14 (*cf.* adiuro  
34, RB 17; 45, RB 17)  
iuro tibi\* ~ iuro te 18, RA/RB 10 (b)
- iussio 22, RA 20 (P)
- iustus vultus 9, RB 2 (M)
- iuventus, -utis 34, RA/RB 4
- iuxta (*i.q.* deorsum) 9, RB 2 (βπ)
- labor (*abstr. pro concr.*) 32, RA 48
- lacrima: lacrima mea 37, RA 15 (*gen.  
obi.*)  
lacrimas exprimo 37, RB 18  
usque ad lacrimas 34, RA 16/RB 18  
lacrimas propinare\* 35, RA/RB 2
- laetare et gaude 7, RA 14; 14, RA 25;  
24, RA 12.24/RB 10
- laetus atque alacer 23, RA 9
- lapido (I) 50, RB 23, *cf.* 50, RA 27
- latus, -eris (*masc.?*) 11, RA 11
- latus (*i.q.* magnus): latior pecunia  
35, RA 8
- lavacrum 13, RA/RB 7
- lavo: lavasse 14, RB 2
- lectulus 27, RA 4
- lectum\* 'bier' 26, RA 25
- lenis ~ levis 26, RB 5; 27, RA 9/RB 8
- leno 33, RA/RB *passim*;  
35, RA 24-26.35/RB 20-23.30;  
44, RA 19/RB 7; 45, RB 22;  
46, RA/RB *passim*
- lentos: facula lenta 'slow-burning'  
26, RB 27  
manus lenta 'motionless' (?)  
26, RA 32
- levo (I) me 17, RA 11/RB 10
- libenter 26, RA 5; 39, RA 23
- libentiose 39, RB 22
- liberalitas 10, RB 17; 16, RA 5
- liberi et ingenui 13, RB 5
- libertas 6, RA 8/RB 6;  
31, RA 15.23.25/RB 10.14;  
50, RA 32  
(*i.q.* liberalitas) 10, RB 17 (bMπ)
- libra auri 33, RA 26/RB 24;  
34, RA 23/RB 23-24
- licenter (*e coni.*) 39, RA 21
- licentiam do (I) 51, RB 1
- licet (+ *ind.*) 41, RA 36/RB 34  
(+ *coni.*) 15, RA 12/RB 11;  
42, RB 31  
(*absol.*) 31, RB 14; 40, RA 26
- liquor (licor P) Palladius 13, RA/RB 7,  
*cf.* 26, RA 23.25 ampullam unguen-  
ti/RB 23 unguenti liquorem
- lividum pectus 32, RB 17
- loculus (*i.q.* sarcophagus)  
25, RA 26/RB 19;  
26, RA 1-4.11/RB 1-4.10;  
29, RA 16/RB 14; 44, RA 12/RB 13;  
48, RA 36/RB 28
- locuples (-x *u.l.*) 4, RA 2/RB 3;  
6, RB 18  
(*'talented'*) 16, RA 21/RB 18
- locupletio (I) 16, RA 8/RB 7  
locupletio (I) ~ dito (I)  
17, RA 18/RB 16
- locus: *cf.* s.v. in

- longinquus ~ longus 24, RA 20/RB 16;  
 28, RA/RB 18  
 longus: longa manus regis\* 8, RB 7  
 longe sum ab aliqua re 5, RB 2  
 de longe ~ a longe 37, RA 3/RB 2  
 loquor ad me ipsum 6, RA 14  
 luctor (I) 1, RA/RB 9; 4, RB 14;  
 26, RB 26; 29, RA 18; 42, RA 41  
 luctor contra\* 41, RA/RB 15  
 lucto (I) 26, RA 30 (P); 42, RA 37  
 (Va<sup>c</sup>P) (luctor *Symph.*)  
 luctus, -us 7, RA/RB 8.10;  
 30, RA 5 'mourning clothes'  
 lucti (*nom. plur.*) 41, RA 6  
 luctus, quod\* 46, RA 11  
 ludus: ad ludum ludere 13, RA 10  
 lugeo: animo lugenti 24, RA 27  
 luguber: lugubria 45, RB 11 (π)  
 lugubris manus 44, RB 6  
 lumen, -nis (*masc.*) 45, RA 3  
 lumen oculorum 45, RA 3  
 lumen videre 38, RA 18  
 lusus, -si\* 'tall' 13, RA/RB 4  
 lymphā 42, RA 43  
 lyra, -ae 16, RA/RB (5 x);  
 23, RA 13; 26, RA 2/RB 1  
  
 machinor + *inf.* 48, RA 29/RB 23  
 maestus: mixtus (*u.l.*): mixto vultu  
 9, RB 2 (b)  
 magister 17, RA 7/RB 5;  
 27, RA 14/RB 11 *saepe*.  
 49, RA 4/RB 6 (*adi.*) 'with consum-  
 mate skill' 42, RA 13 (*u.l.*)  
 magnificus: magnificē  
 39, RA 17/RB 18  
 magnus: magnum est alicui, si  
 34, RA 22  
 magnus homo es 35, RA/RB 1  
 concursus magnus et ingens 46, RA 1  
 magnus ~ nimius 48, RA 17/RB 11  
 magna Diana 48, RA 33/RB 26  
 maior 10, RA 2\*; 39, RA 22;  
 48, RA 16\*  
 maior civitatis 45, RB 24  
 male habeo\* ('I am ill') 20, RA 5  
 maledico + *acc.* 38, RA 14/RB 12  
 malum pro bono 32, RA 35  
 manum illi sit 34, RA 21  
 mancipium  
 mandipia, ae (P) 22, RA 18  
 mane: primo mane 18, RA 3  
  
 mansio 17, RA 21;  
 'positioning' 43, RA 26/RB 15.18  
 manumitto 50, RB 26  
 manus: dare exeunti 13, RA 22/RB 18  
 in manibus (= brachiis) alicuius  
 mori 51, RA 9/RB 8, *cf.* 44, RB 1  
 manus: docta manu  
 13, RA 17.20/RB 16; 49, RA 4  
 suspiciosa manu 26, RA 27  
 mare 7, RB 20; 11, RA 13.16.19;  
 12, RA 4/RB 5; 18, RA/RB 11;  
 39, RA/RB 2, *al. Cf.* pelagus, pontus  
 mater *t.t.* 'abbes' 48, RB 10;  
*indecl. (cl. matre)* 45, RA 4  
 maternus: materna caro (= filia) 4, RA 9  
 medicus 26, RA 2.5.20/RB 2.5. 18;  
 27, RA 10  
 medietas, -atis (= dimidius)  
 51, RA 9.10/RB 8.9  
 medius (= dimidius) 33, RB 25;  
 51, RA 13  
 meus (*cl. medius*) 42, RA 39-42  
 (*u.l. in Symph. aen.* 89.2)  
 medius 'innermost' 8, RB 3  
 medullae 27, RA/RB 7  
 melos 16, RA 13  
 memor: memor esto 51, RA 26/RB 20  
 (+ *acc.*) 18, RA/RB 2; 29, RB 28  
 (+ *gen.*) 29, RA 26  
 memoratus + *gen.*\* 36, RA 7/RB 11  
 mens: simulata mente 3, RA/RB 1  
 turbata mente 9, RA/RB 4  
 stupenti (RA: -e RB) mente  
 38, RA 13/RB 11  
 mentior (*i.q.* simulo, imitor) 43, RB 11  
 mercatoris nomen\* 10, RA 12/RB 10  
 mercor (I) opera 28, RA/RB 8  
 mereor indulgentiam 50, RA 23  
 mereo (*cl. mereor*) 23, RA 11;  
 31, RA 25; 48, RA 31/RB 25  
 meritum (?) 6, RB 13 (bβ)  
 merito (*e con.*) tuo 41, RB 17  
 mico (I) 15, RA 1 (Va<sup>c</sup>)  
 ministeria ~ ministeria (mist- *u.l.*)  
 regalia 14, RA 18/RB 14  
 mirabilis *tit.*, RB (β); 16, RA 29  
 miraculum 13, RA 18; 31, RA 4  
 mirari 1, RA/RB 16; 50, RA 20  
 mirari et laetari 24, RB 4  
 mirari et gaudere 50, RB 19  
 misceo me + *dat.* 13, RB 10  
 misereor + *gen.*: miserere mei

- 12, RA 11; (23, RB 23 tui -atur βπ);  
 33, RA 20; 34, RA 4; 35, RA 21  
 (*abs.*) miserere 12, RB 14;  
 33, RB 19; 34, RB 4; 35, RB 16;  
 37, RA 7/RB 9  
 (+ *dat.*) 12, RA 13/RB 15;  
 12, RA 21/RB 23 (b);  
 15, RA 10/RB 9 (βπ);  
 (+ *dat.*) 35, RA 20  
 (*impersonale* + *dat.*) 15, RB 9  
 misericordia (= opus bonum):  
 misericordiam facio 'I do a deed of  
 mercy' 41, RA/RB 24  
 misericordia ~ pietas  
 12, RA 18/RB 21  
 misericors miserorum 17, RA 13/RB 11  
 mitto (*cl. iacio*) 31, RB 13  
 mitto (*sc. nuntium*)  
 21, RA 18/RB 15; 45, RB 18  
 mitto me ad pedes 45, RB 16,  
*cf.* 9, RA 15;  
 mitto (= pono, impono) 44, RB 11  
 mitto vocem magnam 49, RA 1-2  
 modius 9, RA/RB 14  
 modulanter\* (*i.q. -te*) 36, RA/RB 2  
 modulata vox 23, RA 14; 41, RA/RB 1,  
*cf.* modulanter  
 moenia (men- *u.l.*) 47, RA 7/RB 8  
 moenia publica 51, RA 2  
 molestum (non) est 15, RA 13/RB 12  
 monumentum 30, RA 7/RB 5.7;  
 31, RA 20.27.28/RB 16.18;  
 32, RA 5/RB 4.25;  
 38, RA 5.8/RB 4.6; 50, RB 13  
 moras facio (*i.q. moror*) 8, RA 2/RB 1  
 morbus 'passion' 21, RA 5/RB 4 (b);  
 (= pestis) 21, RB 4 (βΜπ)  
 morior in manibus alicuius  
 51, RA 9/RB 8, *cf.* manus  
 laetus morior 45, RA 5; 51, RB 8  
 moror (= maneo) 51, RA 3/RB 2;  
 (= sum) in luctu moror  
 7, RA 8/RB 9; 39, RA 25/RB 23;  
 40, RB 11 (RA 14 esse)  
 mors (*i.q. monumentum mortui*)  
 32, RB 6 (β)  
 mors adultera 26, RA 30  
 mors falsa 26, RA 6  
 mortuus: mortui mei 43, RA 25;  
 44, RA 2  
 mox cum (+ *coni.*) 31, RA 19  
 mucro 'thorn' 41, RA/RB 3  
 mulier 'grown woman' 20, RA 5/RB 4  
 multum (+ *adject.*) 31, RA 5  
 munus 51, RA/RB 1  
 munus ~ beneficium 47, RA/RB 7  
 murmuro (I) 11, RA 11 (AV<sup>c</sup>)  
 nam non 39, RA 32 (P)  
 namque (= sed) 44, RA 13  
 nares 'nostrils' 26, RA 29/RB 25  
 nares ~ genu 44, RA 6/RB 8  
 narratio *tit.*, RB (π)  
 narro (I) (*i.q. dico*) 25, RA 23/RB 17;  
 49, RA 2/RB 1  
 narro (I) *dicens* 22, RA 14  
 nata dulcis 15, RB 6;  
 16, RA 3.4.10/RB 3.9;  
 22, RA/RB 3.8; 50, RB 14  
 natales 12, RA 12/RB 15; 19, RB 7;  
 29, RA 11/RB 10; 30, RA 3/RB 2;  
 41, RA/RB 19  
 natalibus suis restitui/reddi  
 12, RA 23-24/RB 26  
 nativitas 30, RA 3; 45, RB 24 (β)  
 natura rerum 1, RA/RB 3  
 naturaliter accidere (*i.q. mori*) 30, RB 1  
 naufragus 12, RA 11/RB 15;  
 20, RB 13; 22, RA 6/RB 5;  
 24, RA 16/RB 13;  
 25, RA 18.24/RB 14.18; 43, RA 5 *al.*  
 naufragium 20, RA 16;  
 21, RA 3.7.8/RB 2.5; 32, RA 33  
 naufragium castitatis  
 40, RA 40/RB 34  
 navicula\* 40, RA 11/RB 8  
 navigium 39, RB 13  
 navigo (I) 6, RB 21 (βΜπ)  
 navis, *cf.* classis  
 ne casu (+ *coni.*) 29, RB 24  
 ne forte (+ *coni.*) (= num) 37, RA 15  
 nebula teporis 26, RB 28  
 nec (*cf. et non*) 4, RB 12;  
 13, RA 8.13/RB 12 *al.*  
 (= ne quidem) 40, RA 20/RB 16  
 nec ... nec ... nec 28, RA 14  
 nec vir nec mulier (= nemo)  
 33, RA 3  
 (= eunuchus) 33, RB 3-4, *cf.* Ovid.,  
*Am.* 2.3,1  
 nec non et 28, RA 13  
 nec omnino 18, RA 17  
 necesse est (*parataxis*) 29, RA 26  
 necessaria 39, RB 12

necessitas 15, RB 13; 48, RB 19 (**βMπ**)  
 nefarius 44, RA 3  
 nepta (*cl.* neptis) 25, RB 25 (**βM**)  
 neque (*cl.* neque ... neque) 46, RA 2 (**P**)  
 nescio, quia 33, RA 23/RB 21  
   si 35, RA 23/RB 19  
   (+ *inf.*) 41, RA/RB 3  
   nescio quis/quid 14, RB 3; 15, RA 5;  
   26, RA 22; 48, RA 16/RB 10  
 nihil verum dico 5, RA 2  
 nihil dico\* 3, RA 7/RB 9; 5, RB 3  
 nihilominus 16, RA 30/RB 26  
 nimis (= valde) 35, RA 23/RB 18  
 nimius (= magnus) 16, RA 12/RB 11;  
   47, RA 16/RB 15; 48, RB 11.13  
 nisi (= quin) 31, RA 12  
   (= quam) 14, RA 3; 30, RA/RB 7  
   tam ... nisi 48, RA 13  
   nisi solum 22, RA 19  
 nobiles 45, RA 8; 48, RA 26/RB 19 *al.*  
 nobilitas tua 15, RA 13/RB 11.13  
   (= tu) 9, RA/RB 9; 39, RA 21;  
   41, RA/RB 16  
 noceo + *acc.* 6, RA 16 nocearis (**P**)  
 nodus parabolarum\* 41, RA 33/RB 31  
   nodus quaestionum 36, RB 4  
   nodus virginitatis\* 1, RA 15/RB 14;  
   33, RA 14; 35, RA 15/RB 12.13  
 nomen: (*masc.*) nomen, qui  
   20, RA 7/RB 6;  
   nomen mercatoris\* 10, RA 12/RB 10  
   nomen (*sc.* virginis, patris)\*  
   2, RA/RB 4  
   nomen impono alicui 32, RA 39  
   ultimum nomen relinquo 4, RB 7  
 non (*in quaestione indirecta* = *cl.* ne)  
   41, RA 21  
   non solum (*cl.* non solum non) ...  
   sed nec 40, RA 20 (**P**)  
   non prius ... nisi primo 30, RA 7  
 non potest melius 34, RA 16  
 noster es 16, RA/RB 6  
 noto (I) mihi 13, RA 14/RB 12  
   notesco (?) mihi 13, RB 12 (**β**)  
 novitius: novitia 34, RA 16/RB 17  
 nubilis: nubilis aetas 1, RA 4  
   nubiles anni 29, RB 22  
 nubo + *acc.* 23, RB 3 (**b, T**)  
 numero (I) 23, RB 6; 33, RA 13  
 numquam ... nisi 14, RA 3;  
   30, RA 7/RB 8; 48, RA 31  
 numquid 33, RA 17/RB 16;

37, RA 21/RB 22; 50, RA 6  
   (*e coni.*)/RB 7  
 nuntium (*neutr.*) 37, RA 16/RB 18  
 nuntius salutis 29, RB 24  
 nuptui/nuptam/nuptum trado  
   28, RA/RB 15  
 nusquam compareo 7, RA 11/RB 2.11  
 nutrix 2, RA/RB 1 *passim*;  
   25, RA 3/RB 2; 29, RA 5/RB 3 *passim*  
 o *exclamativum*  
   (+ *acc.*) 7, RA 9; 41, RA 15  
   (+ *voc.*) 12, RA 4/RB 6;  
   38, RA 14/RB 12; 39, RA 17;  
   44, RA 7/RB 9; 51, RA 19  
 obligo (I) 50, RB 21  
 oblivio: oblivioni duco 32, RA 36  
 obpalleo (*v.l.*) 37, RA 19  
 obsequium: -ia (= officia) 22, RA 17  
 obstetrix 25, RA 3/RB 2  
 obstipesco 34, RA 8  
 obtestor (I) aliquem per deum  
   43, RA 24  
 obturo (I) 25, RA 27  
 offero me (= obviam sum)  
   51, RA 26/RB 20  
 officiosus 13, RB 18; (*adv.*) 13, RA 22  
   officiose *cf.* officium facio alicui  
   14, RB 4; 15, RB 6  
 oleum 13, RA 3 (*cf.* 7)/RB 13;  
   27, RA 5/RB 4  
 omnis ~ homo 11, RA 5/RB 4;  
   40, RA 33/RB 27  
 omnis ~ universus 6, RA 11/RB 12  
 oporteo 1, RA 9 (**P, π**)  
 orbis ~ urbis 11, RA 8  
 ordino (I) comitem *t.t.* 51, RB 22  
 organum (*sc.* hydraulicum) 23, RA 13;  
   49, RA 10/RB 12; 51, RB 4  
 origo natalium 29, RA 11/RB 9  
   origo stemmatum 34, RA 6  
 ornamētum laetitiae 41, RB 35  
 orno (I)\* 25, RA 28; 26, RA 6  
 osculor\* (*obsc-v.l.*) 15, RA/RB 3  
 osculum (*obsc-v.l.*) 15, RA/RB 2\*  
   obsc- 51, RA 7.28 (**P**)  
   in osculo perduro (I) 51, RB 6-7  
 ostendo me 3, RA/RB 1

palatium 25, RA 6; 51, RA 14-16  
 parabola\* 'riddle' 41, RA/RB 32  
 paronymphus\* 51, RA 18/RB 14

- parentes (*i.q.* cognati) 4, RB 6  
 'fosterparents' 37, RA 6/RB 9  
 pariter (*RB plerumque omisit*)  
 19, RA 3/RB 4; 23, RA 3;  
 24, RA 4.21/RB 22; 28, RA 11;  
 29, RA 20; 49, RA 11  
 pars: pars pelagi\* 8, RB 6-7  
 pars (= regio) 48, RB 30  
 ex parte 'from aside' 38, RB 1  
 parturiens mater 44, RA 9  
 patefacio 20, RA 10  
 patefio ~ pateo 33, RA 27/RB 25  
 pateo 33, RB 25  
 pater patriae 50, RA 7/RB 8  
 patria 'native country' 'native home'  
 (*saepe in HA*) 5, RA 6/RB 7;  
 6, RA 6.10/RB 8; 9, RB 8  
 patria (= RB 9 civitas)  
 10, RA 8/RB 6; 24, RA 5.7.10  
 (*cf.* RA 6 de Tyro/RB 4.6.8;  
 28, RA 9/RB 10; 42, RA/RB 5 *al.*  
*Cf.* patria ~ urbs/civitas 1, RA/RB 1;  
 princeps  
 patrimonium 20, RA 16  
 paupera (civitas) ~ pauper 9, RA/RB 9  
 paupertas tribunarii 12, RB 26  
 pax et senectus 51, RA 33  
 pecunia: latior ~ amplior 35, RA/RB 8  
 (*plur.*) 28, RA 13  
 pelagus: *acc.* pelagum 32, RA 5  
 (**M**, *cf.* ed.m.); 38, RA 19 (**A**); *vox*  
*poetica, adamata in HA*, 28, RA 17;  
 31, RA 10/RB 7; 32, RA 6/RB 5;  
 38, RA 19 *al.*; *praesertim in quibus-*  
*dam locutionibus sollemnibus, ut*  
*'altum pelagus (petere)'*  
 6, RA 20/RB 21; medium umbili-  
 cum pelagi\* 8, RB 3; interiorem ...  
 partem pelagi\* 8, RB 6  
 pelagi fides, 11, RA/RB 6,  
*cf.* 39, RA 1/RB 2; 12, RA 5 rector  
 pelagi 25, RA 9.21.24/RB 16.18  
*Cf.* mare, pontus  
 per + *abl.* 11, RB 5; 45, RA 4  
 percutio ~ interficio 31, RA 31/RB 19  
 perduco (*t.t.*) 7, RB 17  
 perduro (I) in osculo 51, RB 6-7  
 peregrini 13, RA 6/RB 5; 23, RA 12  
 perfectio: ad perfectionem 27, RB 5  
 perficio scelus 1, RA 15  
 perfrictio\* 'cooling' 'chilling' 27, RA 6  
 pergo 12, RB 10; 40, RA 24  
 periclitor (I) (= morior): -ito (I) (*u.l.*)  
 46, RA 8 (**P**)  
 periculum famis 'death from starva-  
 tion' 32, RA 37; 50, RA/RB 9  
 periuro (I) 50, RA 16  
 permitto (+ *acc. cum inf.*) 24, RA 17;  
 33, RA 12/RB 11; 41, RA 32/RB 30  
 (+ *dat. cum inf.*) 24, RB 14.21  
 perpetro (I) scelus 1, RB 15  
 perpulcher *tit.*, RB (**β**)  
 petitor (nuptiarum) (*cl.* procus)  
 3, RA/RB 3; 20, RA 6  
 peto: petitus = invitatus 39, RA 17  
 pico (I) 25, RA 26  
 pietas (*vis interdum difficilis diiudicatu*)  
 (*angl.* 'pity') 1, RA/RB 10;  
 12, RB 21 (RA 18 misericordia);  
 34, RA/RB 8.14.28/RB 8.14.29;  
 46, RA 16.18/RB 17  
 (*angl.* 'piety') 38, RA 11; 40, RA  
 32/RB 26; 41, RA/RB 15; 45, RB 19  
 (*in honorifica allucione*)  
 pietas tua (= tu) 22, RB 6; 38, RA 6  
 pietas vestra (= vos); 47, RA/RB 2;  
 50, RB 25 (RA 32 felicitas)  
 pilae lusus 13, RA 12.14/RB 11.13,  
*cf.* 43, RA/RB 5  
 pirata: pirates, py- (*u.l.*) 32, RA 1 (**P**);  
 40, RA 4; 44, RA 18 9, **RA**)  
 piscator 12, RA 15 *sq.*/RB 18 *sq.*;  
 51, RA 12-23/RB 9-18  
 pisco (I) 12, RA 22/RB 25 (**b**)  
 pius: piissimus 22, RB 4; 45, RB 25;  
 47, RA/RB 2; 50, RA 29,  
*cf.* impiissimus 3, RB 1  
 placet ~ placetne 17, RA 18/RB 16  
 planctus amarissimus 49, RA 13  
 platea\* 13, RA/RB 3; 49, RA 10  
 plausum do (I) 39, RB 4  
 plebeius homo 8, RA 7  
 plenum 16, RA 25/RB 22; 36, RA 4  
 plenus: plenius 12, RA 18/RB 21;  
 46, RA 18/RB 17 *cf.* gaudium  
 ploro (I) ~ fleo 34, RA/RB 25; 35,  
 RA/RB 5  
 ploro (I) fortiter 25, RA 19  
 plus (+ *comp.*) 16, RA 14  
 plus diligo 1, RB 8  
 pollicitatio 1, RA/RB 6  
 pondus: pondo (*indecl.*) 17, RB 6 (**βπ**)  
 pondus (*indecl.*) 17, RB 6 (**b**)  
 pondera 17, RA 18

pono ~ dispono 36, R 3  
 pontus 11, RA 15, *cf.* mare, pelagus  
 populus 33, RA 27/RB 25;  
     46, RA/RB 2  
     (*pl.* = homines) 46, RA 8; 50, RA 18  
 possessio (= fundus) 22, RA 19  
 possum: potetis 38, RA 15 (A)  
 postquam (+ *fut. exact.*) 6, RA 7  
 postulo in matrimonio 1, RB 5  
 potens 'the man in power'  
     8, RA 6/RB 14; 23, RB 1 (βπ)  
 potentissimus 1, RA 7  
 potestas: potestas caelorum  
     44, RA 7/RB 9  
     'ruler, mayor' 23, RA 2/RB 1 (b)  
     (*italice podestà*)  
 potissimum 1, RB 6  
 prae amore 19, RA 9 (RB 10 pro)  
 prae pudore 20, RB 14  
 prae gaudio 45, RA 2  
 praecipio (+ *inf. pass.*) 6, RA 17;  
     50, RA 4/RB 5; 51, RA 17  
     (+ *inf. act.*) 6, RB 19  
 praeccludo 27, RA 3.7  
 praecordia, -ae 26, RB 24  
 praesens 'actual' 33, RA 17/RB 15  
     a praesenti 'immediately' 22, RA 7;  
     50, RA 31  
     ad praesens 27, RA 8/RB 10;  
     32, RA 24  
     in praesenti (*sc.* pecunia)  
     33, RA 9/RB 8; 47, RA 8/RB 9  
 praesento (I) ('bring into court') 41,  
     RA 33/RB 26; 46, RA 25/RB 23;  
     48, RA 33/RB 26  
 praeter (= sine, absque)\* 19, RA 15  
 pretium virginitatis 35, RA 7/RB 6  
 princeps (*dictum de Apollonio*) 7, RB 2;  
     39, RA 17/RB 18  
     (*de Athenagora*) 34, RA 1.7;  
     36, RA 7/RB 10; 39, RA 17/RB 18;  
     45, RA 7; 46, RB 1; 47, RA 17  
 princeps civitatis (*semper, ut videtur,*  
*dictum de Athenagora*) 33, RA 5/RB 4;  
     36, RB 10; 39, RA 12.28/RB 27;  
     40, RA 7.9/RB 6.7;  
     45, RA 7/RB 4.18; 46, RB 1  
 princeps patriae (*dictum de Apollonio*)  
     4, RB 2; 7, RA/RB 10;  
     8, RA 11/RB 18; 12, RA 13/RB 16;  
     24, RA 10/RB 8  
     (*plur.*) (*dictum de aliis*) reges ... prin-

cipes patriae 3, RA 9/RB 7;  
     32, RB 22.24  
 principatum sacerdotum teneo\*  
     48, RA 12/RB 9  
 prior (= primus) 33, RA 13/RB 11;  
     34, RA/RB 2; 41, RA/RB 8  
 privatus (*subst.*) 3, RB 2  
 pro (*cl.* propter) 19, RB 10; 40, RA 14;  
     41, RA 31; 44, RA 15; 47, RA 6;  
     51, RA 1  
     (*cl.* vice) 'instead of' 32, RA 35  
 procido ad pedes alicuius 34, RA/RB 4,  
     *cf.* 9, RA 15  
 profectoria, -ae\* (*sc.* cena) 25, RA 4/RB 3  
     (bβπ) *vitium translationis, ut videtur*  
 profectoria, -orum 25, RB 3 (M)  
 proficio (= proficiscor) 24, RA 18.19  
 profundo ~ perfundo 24, RA 19/RB 15  
 prolixus 23, RB 6  
 proloquor 'utter' 25, RB 18  
 propino (I) lacrimas\* 35, RA/RB 2  
 propono edictum (*l.t.*) 7, RA 17/RB 16  
 propter hoc ... quod (*i.q.* ut) (+ *indic.*)  
     12, RA 5  
 prora navis 47, RB 9  
 prosterno me pedibus *vel* ad pedes  
     9, RA/RB 15; 12, RA 10/RB 13.19;  
     22, RA 3/RB 4; 33, RA 20/RB 19;  
     34, RA 25/RB 26; 35, RA 20/RB 16,  
     *cf.* mitto me (*s.v.* mitto), procido,  
     provolvo me  
 prostibulum (*i.q.* lupanar) 33, RA 13  
     (RB 11 lupanar); 46, RA 7 (RB 7  
     lupanar), *cf.* 33, RA 22 (P)  
 provideo (*e coni.*) 39, RA 23  
 provincia 44, RA 19/RB 17;  
     46, RA 5/RB 6, *cf.* provincia ~ urbs  
     1, RA/RB 1  
 provoco (I) (*c. inf.*) 40, RA 31;  
     41, RA 29  
 provolvo me 12, RA 14/RB 17,  
     *cf.* prosterno me  
 proximo (I) 46, RB 5  
 prudentia litterarum 3, RA 6/RB 8  
 prudentia quaestionum 42, RA 27  
 prudentia solutionum 42, RB 20  
 publicus: publica spectacula 7, RB 4  
     a publico (*abl. sep.*) 7, RA 4  
     in publico 45, RA 7  
     per publicum 31, RB 2  
 pudicissime (*e coni.*) 47, RA 13 (P)  
 puella (= uxor) 23, RA/RB 1

- puellula (= uxor) 24, RA/RB 2;  
24, RA 23; 25, RA 10/RB 7  
puer 13, RA 18 'page'  
40, RA/RB 2\* pueri 'crew'  
puer ... senex, *cf.* adulescens ... senex  
26, RA 20/RB 18  
pulso (I)\* 'try' 41, RA 10  
pulsus, -us\* 36, RA/RB 2  
punior (*sc.* morte) 44, RA 16  
purus a(b) 32, RA 42  
puto (I); puto me (*cl.* puto) 51, RA 15  
puto, quia 31, RA 10  
putas (*interiect.*) 29, RB 7 (βM),  
*cf.* 38, RA 16/RB 14
- quaestiones (*saepius*) 3, RA/RB 4  
6, RA 4.11.15/RB 3.12.13  
nodos quaestionum 36, RB 4;  
42, RA 6.27/RB 6.16;  
48, RA 27/RB 20  
qualiter (*cl.* qui, quomodo)  
31, RA 18; 45, RB 14 (βM)  
quamdiu (+ *ind./coni.*) 34, RA 17/RB 14  
quando (= cum) 51, RA 24  
quantitas dotis\* 19, RA/RB 11  
quantus: quanti (*cl.* quot) 26, RA 7  
quantum: quantum temporis  
45, RB 15  
quantum ad 50, RA 14  
quantum (*i.q.* quanto) 26, RA 20  
quantum (+ *comp.*) 34, RA 24;  
35, RA/RB 7
- quasi (*cl.* quia, utpote) 32, RA 35  
quater deni 34, RA 20/RB 21  
que *abundat*, *cf.* 39, RA 3 Ibi que;  
*cf.* quique  
queror – quaeror 8, RB 4-6  
qui (+ *indic.*) 32, RA 29  
(+ *coni.*) 6, RA 6/RB 5; 7, RA 9  
qui *etc.* = quicumque *etc.*  
12, RA 17/RB 20  
quicumque ~ si quis 3, RA 4/RB 5  
quia (*c. indic.*) (*pro infinitivo*) *post quae-*  
*dam verba:* audio (8, RA 10/RB 17)  
credo (38, RA 2/RB 1)  
ignoro (33, RA 18)  
iuro (18, RB 10); puto (31, RA 10)  
scio (6, RA/RB 3; 32, RA 42),  
*cf.* nescio (33, RA 23)  
spero (40, RA 16/RB 13). *Cf. s.u.* quod
- quinquennis 29, RA 1  
quique (*cl.* qui) 39, RA 13 (P);  
50, RA 21, *cf.* que *abundat*  
quaeque = quaecumque 17, RA 9 (P)  
quis: quis est qui 7, RA 9  
quae est haec causa quod 7, RA 8  
quid est hoc quod 18, RB 5;  
19, RA 4  
quid est quod 8, RA 2/RB 1-2;  
18, RA 4-5; 19, RB 4; 20, RA 3/RB 2  
quid agis? 6, RA 14/RB 15  
quid sibi vult 2, RA 2/RB 3  
quid fuit de te? 25, RA 17  
quid multa? 23, RA 9; 47, RA 17  
quid plura? 33, RA 15; 35, RA 4  
quid enim? 31, RA 16  
quisquam ~ aliquis 40, RA 5/RB 4  
quod: (*cum ind., pro infinitivo post verba*  
*ut sunt*): disco (40, RA 8/RB 7),  
scio (32, RA 13/RB 12),  
video (27, RA 11.12)  
(*cum coni., pro infinitivo*):  
dico (48, RA 41), *cf.* quia  
(*cum ind.* [= *ut consec.*]) 12, RA 6  
quod (*cl.* ex quo) 45, RB 15  
quod (*i.q.* quot), *cf. s.u.* quot  
quomodo tecum? 34, RA 15/RB 17,  
*cf.* Hor., *Sat.* 1,9,43  
quot (*scriptum* quod) 51, RA 33 (Va·P)  
quousque (+ *ind./coni.*) 'until'  
34, RA/RB 13
- radio (I): radianti/radiata luce  
43, RA 10/RB 9  
rapio in amplexu 49, RB 2  
recedo 'step back' 13, RA 15.17/RB 14  
recipio: *perf.* recipi 37, RA 20 (A)  
recito (I) 48, RA 18  
recognosco (= cognosco) 24, RA 5,  
*cf.* 49, RB 11  
reconditus\* 'covered over' 33, RA 16  
reddo: *perf.* reddi 48, RA 42  
redeo: reditus sum (*cl.* redii) 45, RA 5  
(*u.l.*)  
redivivus (*u.l.* -bus) 45, RA 5/RB 6;  
47, RB 2 (2 x); 48, RA 42/RB 32  
redono (I) (= dono) 46, RA 23.27  
(redonavi = reddo)/RB 21  
refundo = reddo  
41, RA 28.34/RB 27.32  
regina 'queen' 'princess'  
17, RA 12.13/RB 9.12; 18, RA 1;  
21, RA 11  
regius: regia dignitas 10, RA 11/RB 10



- regium genus 4, RA 5/RB 7  
 regnum 48, RA 32;  
   regnum devotum\* 24, RA 18  
   patrium regnum 48, RB 25  
 relinquo: (re)liquid (*cl.* -it) 31, RA 34 (**P**)  
   relinquo ~ derelinquo  
     31, RA 34/RB 22  
   relinquo lacrimas 26, RA/RB 7  
 remedium: 2, RA 10/RB 11 mortis  
   remedium  
 remitto (*i.q.* di-) 24, RA 28  
 remos demittere, *cf.* 11, RB 13  
 renovatus 45, RB 6  
 repello 49, RB 2; (= pello) 42, RA 25  
 rependo vicem 41, RB 17  
   vocem 41, RA 17 (**P**)  
 repeto ad 32, RB 9  
   repetere ~ recipere 37, RA 5/RB 8  
 repraesento (I) 25, RB 9; 'restore'  
   41, RA/RB 19  
 requiro 32, RA 43  
 rerum natura 1, RA 3  
 resero (I) codicillum 20, RA 6  
 residet aliquid mihi in animo 22, RA 13  
 residuus 45, RA 5 (**P**)  
 resigno (I) (codicillum) 20, RB 14;  
   (*i.q.* reddo) 38, RB 2  
 restauro (I) 47, RA 7; 51, RA 2/RB 1  
   restituo *t.t.* 44, RB 4  
 restitutor (*e con.*) ~ restaurator  
   47, RA/RB 12  
 retracto (I) (*i.q.* pertracto) 26, RA 27  
 retrorsum (retro) redeo 15, RA 4  
 revertor ~ repeto 32, RA/RB 10  
 revoco (I) ab inferis 50, RB 18  
 revolumen 11, RA 11  
 rex (*sc.* Antiochus) 1, RA/RB 1;  
   4, RA/RB 1; 24, RA 13/RB 10  
   saepius  
   (*sc.* Archistrates) 13, RA/RB 9;  
   16, RA/RB 2, saepe; rex civitatis  
   13, RA 9 (RB 8 rex totius ... regionis)  
   (*sc.* Apollonius) *tit.* RA/RB (**b**)\*;  
   38, RA 10 (*inscr. secunda*);  
   42, RA/RB 5; 48, RA 25/RB 17,  
   *cf.* rex magnus 46, RB 4;  
   saepius reges (*plur.*) 3, RA 9/RB 7;  
   48, RA 26/RB 19  
 rima, -ae 25, RA 26/RB 20  
 rimor (I) 26, RA 29/RB 25 (*e con.*)  
 rogo (I) *c. inf.* 48, RA 14/RB 9  
 roges 26, RA 18-21/RB 17-19;  
   (*i.q.* sepulchrum) 32, RA 26.53;  
   (RB 25 monumentum)  
 roseus color 21, RA 14;  
   roseus rubor 2, RA 2; 21, RB 12  
 ruo in amplexu(m) 45, RA 1  
 rursum ~ sursum 25, RA 10/RB 8  
  
 sabanum 13, RA/RB 3  
 saccus (sagum *u.l.*) 12, RA 9 (**P**, **Rα**)  
 sacerdos (*fem.*) 27, RA 21/RB 19;  
   48, RA 11.16/RB 9.10;  
   49, RA 9.11/RB 11.13  
   sacerdos femina 27, RA 21/RB 19  
 sacramentum 22, RA 20  
 sacrarium 48, RA 14/RB 9  
 saevus: saevus ignis 17, RA 2  
   saevum pectus 1, RB 11  
 sagum 12, RA 9 (*e con.*)  
 saltus, -us 16, RA 29  
 saluber 27, RA 18/RB 16  
 salutarius 32, RA 20  
 saluatorium\* 'reception room'  
   (*u.l.* salutarium) 33, RA 15/RB 14  
 saluto (I) 7, RA 1  
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 salvus: me salvum habeas 16, RA 10  
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 27, RB 16
- compositum (RA) ~ simplex (RB):  
*cf. infra s.v.* verbum
- coniugatio: *cf. s.v.* metaplasmus
- coniunctiv.: accipiat (= accipiet)  
 3, RB 6 (b)  
 coni. potentialis: dixerim 9, RB 7,  
*cf. RA ad loc.*
- consecutio temporum: *cf. s.v.* tempus (5)
- constructio ad sensum: 25, RA 12;  
 36, RB 5-6; 46, RA 14-15/RB 13;  
 49, RA 13; 51, RA 3 (P)
- contaminatio (duarum constructio-  
 num): indagandum 7, RA 20 (P);  
 24, RA 12
- cursor planus (pl.), tardus (t.), velox  
 (v.): *cf.* Introd. n.32
- dativus (*interit*, *cf.* Ind. Verb. *s.v.* ad):  
 5, RA 1; 33, RA 16; 34, RA 20;  
 35, RA 19
- ethicus: 21, RA 11; 22, RA 1/RB 1  
 (b); 23, RA 5
- finalis: 19, RA/RB 11; 32, RB 5 (b);  
 33, RA 2 (Va·P)
- possessivus: 6, RB 5; 22, RA 1/RB (1)
- deminutiva (*maior pars Graecae originis:  
 RB plus semel corrigit*): auricula  
 46, RA/RB 9 (*i.q.* auris); barbulae  
 25, RA 15 (genae RB 11);  
 corpusculum 25, RA 16 (*i.q.* corpus  
 mortuum) (pectus RB 12); *item* cor-  
 pusculum 33, RA 21 (corpus RB 20);  
 lectulus 27, RA 4 (lectus RB 4);  
 navicula 40, RA 11/RB 8; puellula  
 24, RA 3 (*i.q.* uxor) (RB /);  
 ventriculum (*sic*) 24, RA/RB 2
- deorum veterum religio: *cf.* Ind. nomi-  
 num, *ss.vv.* Apollo, Diana, Lucina,  
 Dii Manes, Neptunus, Neptunalia,  
 Priapus, Tartarus; *cf.* Ind. vocom,  
*ss.vv.* ampulla, corona, rogos, sepul-  
 crum, templum
- distributiva: quater deni  
 34, RA 20/RB 21
- ellipsis: (aliquot exempla): 11, RA 1;  
 24, RA 1; 50, RA 30-31/RB 25
- civitas: *cf.* Ind. nomin. *ss.vv.*  
 Mitylena, T(h)arsus/T(h)arsia,  
 Tyrus/Tyria
- dies: 36, RA/RB 2
- mos: 34, RA 19
- enallage: 39, RB 4 sonus hilaritatis
- euphemismus: (*pro morbo*)  
 18, RA 16/RB 15 valitudo  
 (*pro morte*) 26, RA 14/RB 13 decido  
 (= morior); 29, RA 15 ultimum fati  
 signavit diem; 30, RB 1 senectae  
 naturaliter accidere;  
 38, RA 18/RB 15 efflare spiritum;  
 46, RA 8; 48, RB 42; 51, RA 33
- figura etymologica: 6, RB 12 quaerere

quaestionem; 10, RA 14/RB 12 statutam statuere; 32, RA 14 iunctus ad coniugem; 43, RA 26/RB 18; 51, RA 32 vitam vivere

futurum *pro* imper.: 6, RA 6 inquires futurum periphrasticum: 33, RB 10 venditurus sum; 37, RA 5-6 dicturi sumus

geminatio: 32, RA 3 parce, barbare, parce; 32, RA 16-17

genitivus (*casus admodum adhibitus in HA: divisio grammaticalis difficilis distinctu*, cf. Riese (1893), Ind. p.122) *explicativus* (*epexegeticus*): 2, RA/RB 11-12 remedium mortis; 31, RB 14 praemium libertatis; 36, RA 1 auxilium studiorum liberarium; 44, RA 11/RB 13 sepultura terrae; 44, RA 15-16 necis perfidia, *al. identicus/abundantiae (inhaerentiae/synonymorum)*: 1, RB 4 species pulchritudinis; 1, RA/RB 14 furor libidinis, cf. 31, RA 6 insaniae furor 2, RA 13/RB 12 sermonis conloquium, cf. 16, RB 1; 25, RA 22 undarum fluctus; 29, RB 15 exequiae funeris; 32, RA 20 afflictio luctus, *al.*

*obiectivus*: 19, RA 15 contumelia tui; 29, RB 17 solatium tui; 40, RA 40 naufragium castitatis; 41, RA 37 hortamentum laetitiae; 49, RA 6 sapientiae dux, *al.*

*partitivus*: 14, RA 4/RB 3 unum de; 31, RB 9 villicum de suburbano (**b**); 40, RA 5 quoquam de suis (RB 4 quoquam suorum)

*qualitatis*: 8, RA 21/RB 26 exempli pauperrime; 42, RB 16-17 te tam tenerae aetatis huius esse prudentiae, cf. *ibid.* RA 23-24

*subiectivus*: 12, RB 17 trophaeum calamitatis; 12, RA 24 tribulatio paupertatis; 32, RB 22 sermonis adfirmatio; 39, RA 13/RB 14 celebritas navium

*genit.* (*neglectus*) 6, RA 19 milia modios (**b**; modiorum βπ)

genus substantivorum (*plerumque recte observatum*):

*masc. pro neutro* 6, RB 10-11 interi-

orem cubiculum **b,β** (*a. corr.*); 12, RA 19 eum (*sc. tribunarium*); 20, RA 7 nomen ... quem; 26, RB 26 spiramentum gracilem

*neutr. pro masc.* 37, RB 18 tale nuntium; 46, RA 11 squalor luctus, quod habuit

*femin.*: dolor 37, RB 19 (β); mancipia, -ae 22, RA 18 (**P**)

gerundium (*fere obsoletum*): 3, RB 5 dicendo; 22, RA 11 amando; 31, RA 9 ad ... recipiendum; 48, RB 1 transeundo; 51, RB 12 occidendum esse = occisum iri gradus comparationum: superlativus (RA) = positivus (RB): 6, RA 19/RB 20; 15, RA 11/RB 10; 17, RA 8/RB 6; 23, RA 6/RB 4; 48, RA 38/RB 30

*raro contrarium*: 38, RA 14 crudeles (oculi)/RB 12 crudelissimi.

Cf. *s.v.* verbum: compositum (RA) → simplex (RB)

hexametri: 11, RA 7-22/RB 10-17; 16, RA 25/RB 22; cf. *praeterea* aenigmata Symphosii, cf. *supra s.v.* aenigma hexametri populares/rythmici 41, RA/RB 2-13

homoioteleuton: 1, RA 10/RB 9-10 (3x); 4, RA 9/RB 11; 6, RA 15/RB 16; 7, RA 16 fugire/RB 15 fugere; 9, RA 17-18; 10, RA 10/RB 8; 12, RA 5/RB 6-7 (3 x); 16, RA 19, cf. app. crit./RB 16; 21, RA 6-7/RB 4-5 (3 x); 27, RB 14 (3 x); 34, RA 26/RB 26-27; 47, RA 3-4/RB 3 (3 x), *al.*

hyperbaton (*typus*: amor circa eum civium): 1, RB 8; 7, RA/RB 3; 16, RB 9; 23, RB 8; 36, RB 9; 37, RB 9-10

imperativus II (*praesertim in RA*): 23, RA 4 scitote; 32, RA 11 facito; 32, RA 13/RB 12 esto; 37, RA 17 scito; 46, RA 28/RB 25 estote; 50, RA 23 dicito

imper. (+ fut. ind.) 12, RA 21-22 indicativus: (*pro coni.*) cf. *infra s.v.* modi



- (*pro imperativo*) 14, RA 21;  
29, RA 11 (**P**)
- infinitivus (*plerumque ad normam grammaticalem adhibitus*):  
(*cl. coni.*) 2, RA 15 (**AP**)  
(*cl. infin. pass., praesertim post iubeo sim.*): 6, RB 18.19 (**bβ**); 8, RB 1 (**b**); 16, RA 10; 31, RA 6  
*constructio analytica, passim in HA*:  
*cf. ss.vv.* quia, quod  
*infin. finalis* 40, RA 23 venire
- inscriptiones: 10, RA 17-19/RB 15-17;  
32, RA 54-57/RB 27-29  
(= 39, RA 9-12/RB 8-10, *forma leviter mutata*); 47, RA 12-16/RB 12-15
- intransitiva ~ transitiva: 34, RB 8
- λέξις εἰρομένη 'repeted diction':  
14, RA 22/RB 18, *cf.* 23, RA 4-5;  
50, RA 4-5/RB 5-6
- locativus: 49, RB 10 (**M**) Ephesi; *alibi*  
abl. loc., *cf.* Ind. nom., *ss.vv.*  
Ephesus, Tharsus, Tyrus;  
43, RA 5 Pentapoli (**A**), *cf.* app. crit.
- lusus verborum: 4, RA 5 (*cf.* ad loc.);  
7, RA 16/RB 15; 8, RB 5-6 queror  
(*i.q.* quaeror) ... queror;  
16, RA 10-11/RB 10;  
16, RA 19/RB 16; *ibid.*, RA 23/RB 21;  
17, RA 13/RB 11-12
- metaplasma (*raro invenitur*):  
*substantiva*: 5, RB 7 commeato;  
35, RA 19.21 casos (*i.q.* casus);  
41, RA 6 lucti  
*adiectiva*: 9, RA 9 paupera; lugubris  
β (*ante corr.*), **M** (*i.q.* lugubribus)  
*verba*: 7, RA 16 (**A**) fugire ... effugire;  
35, RA 14 adferit (*cl.* adfert);  
38, RA 15 potetis (*cl.* potestis)
- metonymicos/μετωνυμικῶς:  
13, RA/RB 7 liquor Palladius (*i.q.* oleum); 44, RA 13/RB 14 Neptunus (*i.q.* mare)
- modi (*plerumque recte adhibentur*):  
*indicativus*: (in interrogatione or. obl.) 7, RA 7-8/RB 8-9; 14, RB 4;  
26, RA 9-10/RB 9 (**b**);  
34, RA 19-20/RB 20-21;  
39, RA 33-34/RB 32; 45, RB 15;  
50, RA 23-24  
*coni. iterativus*: 3, RA 6-7/RB 8-9;  
30, RA/RB 7  
*coni. potentialis*: 9, RB 7 dixerim  
*variatio modorum*: 15, RB 7-8
- neutrum: *cf. s.v.* genus (substantivorum)  
*neutr. pro masc.*: 1, RA 4; 42, RA 5/RB 5-6 nihil prudentius  
(*i.q.* neminem prudentiorem)  
*neutr. plur. → fem. sing.*: 17, RA 16/RB 14; 26, RA 27/RB 24 (**b**)  
*masculinum → neutr.*: 6, RB 10;  
12, RA 19; 25, RA 24 (**P**);  
26, RB 26 (**b**)
- nominativus: *pendens/absolutus*:  
14, RA 13/RB 11; 31, RA 2;  
40, RA 27; 48, RB 31;  
50, RA 29/RB 23  
*nomin. in appositione*: 1, RA/RB 2;  
2, RA 2; 8, RA 9  
*nomin. pro acc.*: 51, RA 29 rex  
(*i.q.* regem) constituit (**P**)
- ὀξύμωρον: 26, RB 6 falsa morte speciosam; *ibid.*, RA 20/RB 18 adolescens ... senex; 49, RA 12-13/RB 14 cum gaudio et lacrimis
- obscure dicta, *passim*:  
2, RA 4.8.10/RB 4.7.9;  
3, RA 6/RB 5-7;  
4, RA 8-10/RB 11-12 (*aenigma regis Antiochi*); 8, RB 19-20; 9, RB 7;  
15, RA 14-15/RB 13-14;  
20, RA 4-5/RB 3-4; 22, RA 8-11;  
24, RA 10-11/RB 9; 31, RA 36;  
32, RA 48-49; 35, RA/RB 2;  
37, RA 15/RB 16-17;  
39, RA 29/RB 28;  
40, RA 32-33/RB 26-27  
*Vide s.v.* aenigma
- parataxis (gramm.): 15, RB 13 necessitas nomen  
(stilist.): 25, RA 10/RB 7 puella puellam, *cf.* app. crit.;  
26, RA 29/RB 25; 43, RA 20
- paronomasia: 16, RA 23/RB 19-20 non Apollonium, sed Apollinem
- participium pendens (*i.q. pro verbo finito*): 9, RA 16 (**A**); 10, RB 13 (**βMπ**); 13, RB 8 (**π**); 16, RA 25 (**P**); 24, RB 13 (*cf.* ed. m.); 25, RA 1 (**P**); 26, RA 8 (**P**); 29, RA 24-5 (**P**);



32, RB 13 (b); 32, RA 35.47.53 (P);  
 44, RA 4 (AVa<sup>c</sup>); 48, RB 18 (β).  
 praes. *pro* perf. (*partim ex originali  
 graeco*) *passim* (*plerumque nomin.  
 sing.*) e.g.: accipiens, audiens, dans,  
 descendens, dicens, exiens, habens,  
 veniens, videns, *al.*  
*rarius legitur plur. (plerumque nom.):*  
 35, RA 2.5/RB 4-5; 47, RA 9;  
 50, RA 7.26, *al.*  
 parataxis: 29, RA 26 necesse est  
 passivum impersonale: 7, RA 2 inven-  
 tum est (A)  
 perfectum:  
*cum vi praesentis, fortasse ex originali  
 graeco (RB semper corrigit)* 26, RA 16  
 Iuravi; 46, RA 23.27. Redonavi  
*cum vi plusquamperfecti*: 1, RA 18  
 ceciderunt (= ceciderant);  
 33, RA/RB 1 rapuerunt (*i.q.* -erant),  
*cf. infra s.v. tempora* (4): plusquam-  
 perf. (*cum vi perfecti*)  
 pleonasmus (*partim e graeco dicendi  
 modo: RB saepius correxit*): 9, RB 1  
 respiciens ... vidit; 32, RA 2-3 exclamaverunt dicentes; 49, RA 1-2 mittit vocem magnam clamans ... dicens; 50, RA 7 clamaverunt dicentes, *al.*  
 pluralis (*maiestatis*): 8, RA 9; 19, RA 6;  
 37, RA 17 (A) (RB 'corrigit') (*modestiae*) 51, RA 33  
 (*poeticus*) 3, RB 3; 51, RA 19/RB 15  
*al.*  
 plusquamperfectum (*cum vi perfecti*):  
*cf. infra s.v. tempora* (4)  
 polyptoton: 12, RB 11 ignotus ignoto;  
 40, RB 22 talis ... taliter  
 positivus – superlativus (*in eadem sententia*): 15, RA 4-5/RB 4; *cf. praeterea  
 s.v. gradus comparisonum*  
 praesens *pro* futuro: *cf. s.v. tempora* (3)  
 pronomina (pauca exempla eaque  
 notabiliora):  
*abundanter posita*: 26, RA 11;  
 40, RA 12  
*demonstrativa*: 7, RA 8 civitas ista/  
 RB 8 civitas haec; 45, RA 6 haec  
 (civitas)/RB 8 ista  
*determinativa*: ille = is: 15, RA 9/RB 8  
 interroga illum, *al.*  
 ille *articuli loco positum, cf. supra s.v.*

ille  
*possessiva*: 20, RA 12 codicellos ...  
 signatos sui anulo  
*reflexiva*: (pleonastice) 11, RA 14  
 disturbare sibi  
*relativa*: (*pronomen antecedens omisum*)  
 8, RB 2; (*abundanter posita*)  
 18, RA 16 medicos. Qui venientes  
 medici, *cf. s.v. relativum 'plenum'*;  
 50, RA 20-21 iubet ... adduci ... vil-  
 licum. Quique cum adductus fuisset.  
 prosimetrum: 11, RA/RB  
 proverbii modo dicta: 7, RA 16 fugire  
 quidem potest, sed effugire non  
 potest, *cf. RB* 15; 8, RB 6-7 Rex  
 longam habet manus; 8, RA 25-26  
 Apud bonos homines amicitiam  
 (*i.q.* -ia) praemio non comparatur,  
*cf. RB* 30-31; 20, RA 18 (cera), quae  
 pudorem non habet, *cf. RB* 15; 22,  
 RA 10-11 et ego amando factus sum  
 pater; 33, RA 23-24/RB 21-22 apud  
 lenonem et tortorem nec preces nec  
 lacrimae valent; 34, RA/RB 9 homi-  
 nes sumus, *cf. ibid.* 27/28;  
 34, RA 24-25 quantum plus dabis,  
 plus plorabis, *cf. RB* 25.  
 relativum 'plenum': 48, RA 11 tem-  
 plum ..., in quo templo  
 repetitio verbi: 23, RA 2  
 scitis? ... Nescimus ... Scitote;  
 50, RA 4-5/RB 5-6  
 reduplicatio: 7, RA 5 ut cum; 7, RA 20  
 etiam et  
 simplex – compositum, vide *s.v. ver-  
 bum*  
 singularis ~ pluralis (*in eadem fere sen-  
 tentia*): 20, RA 5-6  
 substitutio vocum:  
*adiectiva: cf. ss.vv.* ingens, magnus  
*adverbia: cf. ss.vv.* mens, diu, tempus  
*deponentia: cf. s.v.* lucto  
*pronomina: cf. ss.vv.* is, ille (*articuli  
 loco positum*)  
*praepositiones: cf. ss.vv.* a(b), de, ex  
*substantiva: cf. ss.vv.* civitas, nepta,  
 urbs  
*verba: cf. s.v.* fugere – fugire  
 σχῆσις ὀνομάτων: 11, RA 13

σχετλιασμός ('indignant complaint'):  
13, RA 4-5/RB 6-8

tempora verborum (*plerumque recte observantur, sed hic illic usus liberior; RB ad normam classicam corrigit*):  
1) *praesentia et perfecta promiscue posita*: 1, RA 12-13 cum posset, inrum-pit ... iussit (RB 12-13 irrupit ... iubet); 4, RA 2-3 attingit ... salutavit (RB 4 attingit ... ait); 7, RA 1-2 quaeritur ... inventus est (RB quaeritur ... invenitur), *cf.* infra (2)  
19, RA 13-14/RB 13 accepit, signavit ... dat; 25, RA 14-15/RB 10-13;  
31, RA 24; 51, RA 12-13 vidit ... iubet (RB 10-11 vidit ... iussit);  
2) *praesens et imperf.*: 7, RA 21-22 Quaeritur ... inveniebatur (RB 20-21 Quaeritur ... invenitur);  
29, RA 1-3 traditur ... docebatur ... docentur;  
3) *praesens pro futuro*: 19, RA 12 venditor sum (RB 10 venditurus sum);  
33, RA 32 patefit (RB 25 patebit);  
36, RA 4 praebeo (RB 3 emerebor (**b**)); 39, RA 10/RB 11 iubeo;  
39, RA 33 descendo (RB 32 adscendam [**βΜπ**]);  
4) *plusquamperf. pro imperf. vel perf.*:  
5, RA/RB 4 dum reversus fueris;  
17, RA 4 si quid voluissem (*i.q.* quidquid vellem)/RB 3 quicquid voluissem; 22, RA 15 iuraveras; *ibid.* 19 putaverat; 24, RA 9/RB 8 noveras (*i.q.* nosti); 24, RA 21 debueras (RB 17 deberes); 48, RA 31 ut meruissem (RB 25 mererer);  
32, RA 51; 50, RA 21; 51, RA 12;  
51, RA 25 qui indicaverat ... voluit (RB 19 nuntiaverat);

5) *consecutio temporum disturbata (raro)*:  
48, RA 40 venio, ut repeterem; 51, RA 13-14 iubet, ut comprehenderent (RB 11-12 iussit comprehendi), *al.*

tricolon: 4, RB 13-14; 6, RA 15/RB 16;  
7, RA/RB 4-5; 10, RA 15-16;  
12, RB 6-7; 12, RA 7-8/RB 10-11;  
15, RB 13-14 (*u.l.*); 18, RB 3; 18, RA 17-18/RB 16-17;  
26, RA 29-30/RB 25-26;  
27, RA 15-16/RB 14; 45, RA 6-7

variatio

*modorum*: 2, RA 6; 4, RB 13-14;  
15, RB 7-8

*praepositionum*:

7, RA 21-22/RB 20-21; 11, RB 5

verbum: compositum (RA) → simplex (RB), *passim* 1, RA 3 exerrare/RB 3 errare; 1, RA 4 pervenire/RB 4 venire; 2, RA 15 cohortari/RB hortari; 16, RA 23 existimare/RB 21 aestimare; 16, RA 30 complacuit/RB 26 placet;  
24, RA 5/RB 4; 24, RA 21/RB 17;  
26, RA 13/RB 12; 27, RA/RB 5;  
47, RA 7/RB 8, *al.*

simplex (RA) → compositum (RB)

*raro*: 24, RA 14 servantur/RB 12 reservantur

verba activa ~ reflexiva: 17, RB 10 levaverunt

verba transitiva – intransitiva: 34, RB 8 abstinuit

zeugma: 8, RA 23/RB 22 habes centum talenta ... et puras manus

## INDEX LOCORUM PRAECIPUORUM HA

The survey below presents, so as to facilitate reference, a list of those words and terms of the *HA* which are discussed in chapters I to IX of the Introduction and the corresponding notes. The manner of citation is the usual one, *cf.* Abbreviations.

tit.	RA/RB <i>rex</i>	V.2.1 sqq; VI.1
	RA/RB <i>rex Tyri</i>	V.2.3
	RA/RB <i>Tyrus-Tyria</i>	n.65
1,	RB 1	VII.2.1
	RA/RB 1 <i>Antiochus</i>	VI.1.1; n.88
	RA/RB 2	VI.1
	RA/RB 6	IV.2.1
	RA 10/RB 9	IV.2.1
	RA 15/RB 14 <i>nodus virginitatis</i>	IV.2.1; VI.3
	RA 16	IV.1
2,	RA 4	VI.3
	RB 6-7	VII.2.1
3,	RA 8-9/RB 10	VI.1
4,	RA 1/RB 2	V.2.1
	RA 7 <i>Scelere vehor</i>	VI.4.2.1
	RA 8-10 (riddle of Pergamum)	VI.4.2.1
	RA 8/RB 11 <i>fratrem</i>	VI.1; 4.2.2
5,	RB 6	VII.2.1; and 2.2.3
6,	RA 10 <i>innocens</i>	IV.1
	RA 11-13 <i>Chaldaei</i>	III.3; V.1
	RA 17 <i>Atque ita</i>	V.1
	RA 20	VIII.1.1
8,9,10,	(ought to be 9-10-8)	V.1; VIII.2
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	RB 5-6	n.66
	RA 7	VIII.1.3; VIII.2
9,	RA 1	VIII.1.2; VIII.2
	RA 2 <i>Stranguillio</i>	V.1
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10,	RA 1	VIII.1 4,5
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	RA 6/RB 5	n.80 (2)
	RA 8.9 <i>aureus</i>	IV.2.1; VI.4.2.2; VII.2.1
	RA 10/RB 8 <i>adclamationes</i>	VI.2; VII.2.2
	RA 14-16/RB 12-14 <i>statua</i>	VI.4.2.2
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	RA/RB 10 <i>clipeus</i>	IV.1; VII.1; n.84
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	RA 8	IV.1
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14,	RA 2	IV.2.1
	RA 17	IV.2.2

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     RA 12/RB 11 IV.1  
 16-22, RA/RB n.47  
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     RA 29 IV.1  
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 18, RA 10 IV.2.2  
     RA/RB 14 VII.2.1  
 19, RA/RB 2 VI.2  
     RA 15/RB 14 III.1  
 20, RA 9/RB 8 IV.2.1  
     RB 9 VII.2.1  
     RA 10 IV.1  
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 22, RA/RB n.47  
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     RA 5 *dignitas* IV.2.1  
     RA 8-9 (app. font.) VI.1 and 2

- 31, RA 1/RB 1.4 *Dionysia* VII.2.2.2  
     RA 2 *Philomusia* VII.2.2; VIII.1.7; VIII.2  
     RA 9/RB 6 IV.2.2  
     RA 18 VI.2  
     RA 29 VI.2  
 32, RA/RB 1 n.80 (3)  
     RA 42-43 VI.2  
 33, RB 3.23 (Greek names) VII.2.2.2  
     RA 5/RB 4-5 VI.2  
     RA 16 *reconditus* IV.1  
 34, RB 3 *ex demonstrato* II.2  
     RA 12-13 *agere* + dat. VII.1  
     RA 20 *dare ad* III.1  
     RA/RB 21-23 VI.4.1  
 35, RA/RB 4 *aspectus* IV.1  
     RB 8-9 *de* + acc. III.1  
 36, RA 2 IV.1  
     RB 4 VII.2.1  
 37, RA 2 V.1.  
     RA 11-12 VI.1  
     RA 14 II.2  
     RA 16/RB 18 II.2  
 38, RA 2 *genesis* III.3; V.1  
     RA 9 *Dii Manes* II.3  
     RA 15/RB 13 V.1  
     RA 17.19 *subsannium* II.2.2.1; III.1; IV.2.1; VII.1  
 39, RA/RB 2 *discrimina maris* V.1  
     RA 3/RB 5 *Neptunalia* (Ποσίδεα) IV.2.1  
     RA 8/RB 9 *pueri* IV.2.1  
     RB 12-13 IX  
 40, RA 6 *decoratus* IV.1  
     RA 11 *navicula* ~ *navis* V.2; n.40  
     RA 12 *eius* (abundant) IV.2.2  
     RA 40 *naufragium castitatis* II.2  
 41, RA 2-13 VII.1  
     RA 6 *luctus* (II<sup>e</sup> decl.) III.1  
     RA 12 VII.1  
     RA 24/RB 23 II.2  
     RA 32/RB 31 *parabola* IV.2.1  
     RA 32-42, RA 6 (infelicitous adaptation) V.2.3  
     RA 38/RB 36 *spatium tribuere* II.2  
 42-43, VII.1  
     42, RA 32/RB 24 *innocens* II.1  
     43, RA 3 *crinis* (masc.) III.1  
     RA 6 *effici* (= fieri) III.1  
     RA 26/RB 18 *mansio* (= positio) II.1  
 44, RA 6 *sanguis de naribus* III.2  
 45, RA 4-5 VII.1  
     RA 6 (violation of *ius hospitii*) VI.1  
     RA 6 *Pereat* (sc. civitas tota) V.1  
 46, RA/RB 4-7 (punishment of all citizens) VI.1; n.50  
     RA/RB 7 VII.2.1

RA/RB 7 <i>salvare</i>	II.2
RA 9-10/RB 8	IV.1
RA 11 <i>luctus, quod</i>	III.1
RB 14	VII.2.1
RA 23-27 <i>redonavi</i> (= <i>redono</i> )	IV.2.2
RA 23-24	IX
47, RA 1 <i>alloqui</i> + dat.	II.
48, RA 8 ( <i>somnus iubet</i> )	III.3
RA 15-16 <i>maior sacerdotum</i>	V.2
RA 21-22/RB 15-16 <i>splendor pulchritudinis</i>	VI.3
RA 25-26 (Apollonius' education)	VI.1
RA 32 <i>regnum</i> ~ RB 25 <i>patrium regnum</i>	VI.1
49, RA 1-2/RB 1-3	n.89
RA 1-14/RB 1-15 (Artemis no thanks)	V.1
RA 7 <i>sonat</i> (RB 9)	VII.1
RB 9.10 <i>Archistratis</i>	VII.2.2.2
RA 11 <i>constituit</i> (t.t.)	V.2
50, RA 1/RB 2	n.43
RA 7-8/RB 8	VI.4.2.2
RB 8	VI.2
RA 13 <i>fati munus</i>	II.1
RA 27/RB 23 ( <i>stoning</i> )	VI.1
RA 27.28	II.2
51, RA/RB 1-2	VIII.1.8
RA/RB 9 <i>medietas regni</i>	V.1
RA 11 <i>In illo tempore</i>	II.2
RA 11-23/RB 10-18 <i>Hellenicus</i> (mistakenly localised)	V.1
RA 14/RB 12	VII.2.1
RA 18/RB 14 <i>paranymphus</i>	II.b; IV.2.1
RB 26-28 <i>templum Ephesiorum</i>	III.7; VII.2.1
RA 32-34/RB 26 (different ending)	VII.2.2.3